











4th EDITION.

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HISTORY  
OF THE  
PLOTS AND CRIMES  
OF THE  
GREAT CONSPIRACY  
TO OVERTHROW LIBERTY IN AMERICA,  
By DEACON DYE,  
EXPLAINING HOW  
HARRISON, TAYLOR,  
AND  
LINCOLN

Were successfully assassinated while acting as Presidents of the United States.

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Also, a full and complete account of the efforts made to take the lives of  
Presidents JACKSON and BUCHANAN.

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## P R E F A C E .

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It is the object of the author to give, in a small compass, a complete history of the political crimes originating with African Slavery, and perpetrated by its friends, during the last century, in America.

We think it necessary, for the good of future generations, to show how these men resorted to the most atrocious means to defeat the nation's will, and control the Government; and all these failing, how they rose in open rebellion, determined to destroy the power they could no longer control. We deem it useless to speak here of the assassination of three of our most illustrious Presidents, all of whom were swept aside like cobwebs when they stood in the way of the conspirator's unholy designs.

Thus all the chief magistrates elected, since the foundation of the Government, in opposition to the slave interests, in some form or other, became victims of assassination.

We have given the history of these foul deeds in detail; and the evidence furnished will enable the reader to judge understandingly, and correctly. We have thought proper to throw out a few hints about State Sovereignty under the head of ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN UNION, and HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF CIVIL WARS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. Also a detailed account of

all important events and battles from the outbreak of the rebellion to its overthrow, showing that the sword, and the sword alone, conquered peace. Slavery, the cause of our strife, must be wiped out; as the object of the rebellion was to extend and perpetuate it; and retain the black man in hopeless bondage. The rebellion failed; and all its hopes and expectations must perish with its fall.

The slaves, by the *logic of events*, should now become as free as their masters. But as the latter sought to destroy the Federal Government when they ceased to control it, so they now seek by various devices to bring about a condition of things calculated to produce a war of races. They want the civilized world to justify them in their mischievous designs in defying the General Government behind their old fortification, *the rights of the States*, where they are now enacting unequal laws, determined to retain all the *substance*, while they acknowledge that the *form* of slavery has become extinct.

They design to use the black as an instrument to curtail the liberty of the white. But they will learn that there is no safety for their own freedom, except through justice and equal laws to the former.

JOHN SMITH DYE.



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## MR. LINCOLN'S FAVORITE POEM:

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This was written by William Knox, a young Scotchman, a contemporary of Walter Scott, who died quite young, leaving this production as a monument to his youthful and gifted mind. His remarks on the Declaration of Independence, and fondness for this poem, display the goodness of Mr. Lincoln's heart.

Oh ! why should the spirit of mortal be proud ?—  
Like a swift-fleeting meteor, a fast-flying cloud,  
A flash of the lightning, a break of the wave,  
He passeth from life to his rest in the grave.

The leaves of the oak and the willow shall fade,  
Be scattered around, and together be laid ;  
And the young and the old, and the low and the high,  
Shall moulder to dust, and together shall lie.

The infant a mother attended and loved ;  
The mother, that infant's affection who proved  
The husband, that mother and infant who blest,—  
Each, all, are away to their dwelling of rest.

[The maid on whose cheek, on whose brow, in whose eye,  
Shone beauty and pleasure—her triumphs are by ;  
And the memory of those who loved her and praised,  
Are alike from the minds of the living erased.]

The hand of the king, that the sceptre hath borne,  
The brow of the priest, that the mitre hath worn,  
The eye of the sage, and the heart of the brave,  
Are hidden and lost in the depths of the grave.

The peasant, whose lot was to sow and to reap,  
The herdsman, who climbed with his goats up the steep,  
The beggar, who wandered in search of his bread,  
Have faded away like the grass that we tread.

[The saint, who enjoyed the communion of heaven,  
The sinner, who dared to remain unforgiven,  
The wise and the foolish, the guilty and just,  
Have quietly mingled their bones in the dust.]

So the multitude goes—like the flower or the weed,  
That withers away to let others succeed ;  
So the multitudes come—even those we behold,  
To repeat every tale that has often been told :

For we are the same our fathers have been ;  
We see the same sights our fathers have seen ;  
We drink the same stream, we view the same sun,  
And run the same course our fathers have run.

The thoughts we are thinking, our fathers would think ;  
From the death we are shrinking, our fathers would shrink :  
To the life we are elinging, they also would eling—  
But it speeds from us all like a bird on the wing.

They loved—but the story we can not unfold ;  
They scorned—but the heart of the haughty is cold ;  
They grieved—but no wail from their slumber will come ;  
They joyed—but the tongue of their gladness is dumb.

They died—ay, they died—we things that are now,  
That walk on the turf that lies over their brow,  
And make in their dwelling a transient abode.  
Meet the things that they met on their pilgrimage road.

Yea! hope and despondency, pleasure and pain  
Are mingled together in sunshine and rain ;  
And the smile and the tear, the song and the dirge,  
Still follow each other, like surge upon surge.

'Tis the wink of an eye,—'tis the draught of a breath ;  
From the blossom of health to the paleness of death,  
From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud :—  
Oh! why should the spirit of mortal be proud ?



# THE FATHERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

THEIR DEVOTION TO FREEDOM.

---

ON the fifteenth day of May, 1776, the birds had returned with the season, and were making forest and grove resound with their songs. The beautiful spring flowers had matured in all their loveliness, and climbing on their tiny leaves the Honey Bee sweetly sung out that winter was gone.

Although nature was smiling, the Colonies were sad. The tyranny of England had kindled a feeling of revenge in their minds, which soon cast the political elements back into chaos. It was on the above mentioned day, that John Adams, as Chairman of a Committee, presented a resolution in Congress, which was adopted, recommending to the respected assemblage and convention of the United Colonies, the establishment of a government suited to the exigency of the times. This resolution gained favor with the public, and on the seventeenth day of June following, Richard Henry Lee moved, and John Adams seconded the resolution, declaring that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States ; and that all political connection between them and Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." After daily deliberations on these resolutions for over a month, on the second of July they were unanimously adopted by Congress ; and on the same day it appointed THOMAS JEFFERSON, JOHN

ADAMS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ROGER SHERMAN and ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON a Committee to draft "a Declaration of Independence."

Although Mr. Adams was rocked in the cradle of liberty, Mr. Jefferson was unanimously known as her champion; and on him was the honor conferred of drafting the Declaration. He did it; and, after some amendments, it was solemnly adopted in the city of Philadelphia, on the glorious and ever memorable Fourth of July, 1776. After being read, the great bell on the hall began, as if by magic, to ring, reverberating the great and immortal truths just promulgated. Its loud notes thundered dismay to the minds of tyrants, but kindled hope in the breasts of the people.

The enemy having a large naval force in our harbors, savages on our frontiers, treason in our camps, spies in our cities, gold in their coffers, and gibbets in their eye—the fawning sycophant, the man who wanted peace in his day, the go-between threatening and promising; and last, the cowardly sympathizer with the hated foe—all these to other men would have appeared unsurmountable obstacles. But in the face of all—God bless them—they boldly stepped forward, determined to be free, leaving themselves no alternative but "liberty or death."

They had the sagacity to determine the right, and the courage to maintain it. While others were wavering, they were firm; they could neither be courted, intimidated nor bribed; the wealth of the Indies would have been to them as dust. No royal standard could have induced them to forsake the standard of liberty. In the darkest hour a halo of glory surrounded them—a secret self-sustaining influence, which dispelled all gloom. They gathered from the never changing laws of human nature, that mankind, without regard to race, condition, country, clime or color, desired and deserved every where to be free.

Thus, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are enunciated in the Declaration of Independence as the inherent rights of man; "and to secure these rights governments are



instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed."

Here Mr. Jefferson not only sets forth and enumerated the rights, but he positively asserts that to secure them is the chief object of governments. He discards the idea of governing by "divine right," and shows that governments should be created, not against, but by the will and consent of the governed. The power to rule is always lodged with the people, and put in motion by the will of the majority.

This was the foundation laid down in the Bill of Rights; and wherever it has been steadily adhered to, liberty has been protected, life has been secure, property well guarded, and unbounded prosperity has everywhere been the reward, to such a degree that it has no parallel in the history of mankind. God, in his infinite wisdom, decreed that the man who wrote the Declaration, and the man who advocated it, were the last living witnesses of its adoption by the American Congress, and the latest survivors of those who subscribed it on the Fourth of July. Charles Carroll, being absent on a secret mission on the fourth, subscribed it afterwards.

On the anniversary of the fiftieth year from the day the Declaration of Independence was adopted, they both departed this life. When the sun of the glorious Jubilee shone in unclouded and meridian splendor, during the very hour on which, fifty years before, the Declaration was read by him and adopted by Congress, THOMAS JEFFERSON died, exulting that that was the day and the hour. Just as the sun was saluting with his parting rays the same glorious day, and during the very hour on which, fifty years before, the Declaration of Independence was read from the State House to the citizens of Philadelphia, JOHN ADAMS expired, exclaiming, "It is a great and glorious day;" and while giving utterance to the last word he departed.

These great men always understood the design and end of government to be *freedom* and *security*. And however our eyes may be beguiled with show, or our ears deceived by sound; however prejudice may warp our judgments, or interest darken

our understandings, the simple voice of nature and reason will say it is right.

They had no model in Grecian or Roman history to build from ; but took as their guide the desire of all men to be free. Liberty was the chief corner-stone ; they claimed it as a gift from the Almighty, coupled with humanity, equality and justice." With such a natural, stable, and solid foundation, it shadowed forth the noblest effort of human wisdom.

It was under the foregoing principles that the war of the Revolution was commenced; and so triumphantly brought to its close. It was the departure from those principles, when the organic law of the general government was formed, that induced the great and good Lafayette to remark, "That he would never have drawn his sword in the cause of America if he had thought that thereby he was founding a land of slavery."

Among the enemies of slavery could be counted Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Sherman, Livingston, Patrick Henry, Madison, Hancock, Morris, St. Clair, the Randolphs—John and Thomas. Add to the above the rest of the signers of the Declaration, backed up by the great document itself.

We defy and challenge the world to show one single patriot of the Revolution who was in favor of Slavery, or advocated its extension. Some desired its gradual extinction, but not one can be named who spoke in favor of its remaining as a permanent Institution. Well may the poet exclaim :

"The tender ties of parent, husband, friend,  
All bonds of nature, all in slavery end.  
All other sorrows virtue may endure,  
And find submission more than half a cure,  
But slavery, virtue dreads it as her grave.  
Patience is meanness in a slave.  
Now is the dawning of a better day.  
Come, snap the chain the moment when you may.  
Nature imprints upon whate'er we see,  
That has a heart and life in it, be free."



## WHAT SLAVERY DID FOR THE CONSTITUTION.

The War of the Revolution having been brought to a successful termination, the Colonies began to feel the need of "a more perfect union." Surrounded as they were by savage tribes, self-defence and the general welfare demanded something more for their protection. Thus, in 1787, a Convention assembled in Philadelphia and laid the foundations of our National Government. Notwithstanding the Revolution had been fought and won on the doctrine of equal rights, yet, when the colonies formed a national compact, they set aside the principles on which their liberties had been gained.

The 3d clause of Section 2d, article 1st, relating to representatives and taxes. Capital in general is subject to taxation ; but capital invested in slaves is, in addition, allowed representation. "The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand." This excludes Indians not taxed, but negro slaves are counted as *three* to *five*. The practical operation of this clause in the Constitution is, that ten white men owning 50,000 slaves would be allowed one Representative in the lower branch of Congress ; while ten who had invested a similar amount of capital, or ten times the amount in *lands* or *merchandise* would have nothing to say except one vote each. They would just lack 29,990 more white persons to be entitled to a representative. Their capital invested in real estate and merchandise might be taxed, but to be represented also; they would have to invest it in *negro slaves*.

In a speech delivered in the Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass., by Robert Toombs of Georgia, Jan. 24th, 1856, he said of the above clause : " This provision strengthens slavery by giving the existing slave holding states many more representatives in Congress than they would have if slaves were considered only as property. Twenty Representatives in Congress hold their seats to-day by virtue of this clause."

Section IX, article 1st, as it reads in the Constitution : " The migration or importation of such persons as any of the

States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.”.

This section recognized the slave trade for a period of twenty years, or until 1808. Mr. Martin, of Maryland, one of the delegates, proposed to amend that clause, so as to prohibit the slave trade. For, said he, it is inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution. But Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, immediately jumped to his feet and remarked, that the true question was, whether the Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union. Pinkney, of the same State, remarked that South Carolina would never accept the Constitution if it prohibited the slave trade. After which Mr. Rutledge remarked, if the convention think that North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia will ever agree to be parties, unless their right to import slaves be untouched, the expectation is vain.

The article was so altered as to allow the importation of slaves until 1800, but this was too short a time. Pinkney, of South Carolina, moved to strike out 1800 and insert 1808, and the motion was carried.

In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, the slave trade is denounced as piratical warfare. These denunciations were struck out of the Declaration of Independence in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, wished to continue it.—*Writings of Thos. Jefferson.*

In the South Carolina Convention, Judge Pendleton observed that only three states, Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina, allowed the importation of negroes. Their reason for so doing was that during the last war they lost vast numbers of them, which loss they wished to supply.

It was notorious that the postponement of immediate abolition (of the slave trade) was indispensable to secure the adoption of the Constitution. It was a *necessary sacrifice* to



the prejudices and interests of a portion of the Southern States.—*3d Story Com. Con.* 1828, 1829.

Mr. Morris, of Pennsylvania, thought it would avoid ambiguity by making the clause read thus : “The importation of slaves into North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia shall not be prohibited.” *He wished it to be known that that part of the Constitution was a compact with those States.*

The 2d section of article IV. of the Constitution reads thus : “No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.” This was inserted in the Constitution by the same influence. Butler and Pinkney, of South Carolina, moved to require fugitive slaves and servants to be delivered up like criminals.

Why the word slave was left out of the Constitution. The Northern delegates, owing to their peculiar scruples on the subject of slavery, did not choose to have the word *slave* mentioned.—*4 Ell., Deb.* 175.

Story says that it was agreed that slaves should be represented under the milder appellation of “other persons,” not as free persons, *but only in proportion of three-fifths.* The clause was in substance borrowed from that passed by the Continental Congress on the 18th of April, 1783.—*2d Story Com.* 641.

The 15th clause of the 8th section of the 1st article of the Constitution, provides for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the *Union*, suppress *insurrections*, and repel invasions. Gov. Livingston of N. J., from the General Committee, reported this clause as it stands in the Constitution.

Madison, Randolph, and other patriots kept the words *servant* and *slave* from being inserted in that instrument, and substituted in their stead *service* and *person*.

The South has always viewed the above phrases as meaning *slaves* and *slavery* ; while the North has soothed its abolition conscience by boasting that the word slave or slavery is not mentioned in the Constitution. All admit that that in-

strument did not *create* slavery, for it existed, as an inheritance from Great Britain, long before the Revolution. For over one hundred and fifty years slaves had been held by the Colonists, and if the Constitution had set a limit to the traffic on land, as it did on the sea, we should not have had the present rebellion.

Thus the Union, through the Constitution, was bound up with the sinews and cemented with the blood of the African slave.

The anti-democratic feature of the Federal Constitution was always viewed by the patriots of the Revolution with a jealous eye. James Madison, in a letter to Edmund Randolph, dated New York, April 8th, 1787, remarks: "It is also already seen by many, and must by degrees be seen by all, that unless the Union be organized efficiently on *republican principles*, innovations of a much more objectionable form may be obtruded, or, in the most favorable event, the partition of the empire *into rival and hostile confederacies will ensue.*"

#### OPINIONS AND POLICY OF THE PRESIDENTS AND CONGRESS FROM 1789 TO 1820.

IN the preceeding pages we have given a concise account of the organization of our Government, with hints on the character, opinions and designs of the managers and actors in the war of Independence. We now purpose to admit what they did, explain what they *should have done, and did not*, and give a truthful account of the consequences that followed.

In governments they denied and repudiated the dogma of ruling by "divine right;" abolished titles of nobility and entailment of estates, evils that originated with despots, and have been continued only for the benefit of the craft. They rejected those assumed rights as antagonistic to Republican Governments. But, while they did this, they left it in the power of the States to retain the most dreadful foe of humanity that had reached their time. Thus the sin of omission became with them downright transgression. The recognition by the Government of the unnatural traffic in human flesh and



blood, permitting States to retain laws sustaining the buying and selling, and dooming to perpetual bondage its laboring poor. has proved a national disgrace, and is now the damning scourge that threatens our disolution.

To show the reader the terms by which a slave is held and transferred, we copy, *verbatim*, a Bill of Sale, a South Carolina relic of the rebellion :

## SLAVE BILL OF SALE.

## “ Bill of Sale.

“ Know all men by these presents, that I, W. S. Whaley, for and in consideration of the sum of six hundred dollars to me in hand paid, at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents by Wm. M. Murry the acceptor thereof, I do hereby acknowledge to have bargained and sold, and by these presents do bargain and sell, and deliver to the said Wm. M. Murray, a *negro woman, named Harriet, warranted sound*, to have and to hold the said wench Harriet, with her future issue and increase, unto the said Wm. M. Murray, his executors, administrators and assigns, to his and their only purpose, use and behoof, forever ; and I, the said W. S. Whaley, my executors and administrators, the said bargained premises unto the said Wm. M. Murray, his executors and administrators and assigns, from and against all persons shall and will warrant and forever defend by these presents.

“ In witness thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, dated at Charleston on the fifth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty, and in the sixty-fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

W. S. WHALEY. [Seal.]

“ Signed, sealed and delivered,

in the presence of

“ THOMAS S. GADDEN.”

This traffic in human flesh is an unpardonable sin against human nature. It has been our great national sin against the Holy Ghost, which can be forgiven neither in this life nor the life that is to come.

Now as governments have no future existence, their sins must be punished here. And as war is one of the most effectual means the Almighty takes to chastise a guilty nation, he has sent it on us in its most malignant form. Not a war against a foreign power, but a war among ourselves—a national suicide. Truly our scourge can only be surpassed by our crimes. No question of sufficient magnitude could have ever been introduced to unite the people of one section against the other in battle array, except this very question of *slavery*.

We shall now give a few thoughts on the policy of the early Fathers; and the reader can rely upon its being a correct history in every particular. When quotations and dates are given, they are from the best authorities and can never be controverted. Of the reasoning and suggestions the world will determine for itself.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S election, as the first President of the United States, took place in 1789. His re-election in 1793. He gathered around him as his chief advisers, such men as Thomas Jefferson and Edmund Randolph for Cabinet officers, men who were and are well known to have been diametrically opposed to slavery in every form.

John Adams, who was elected in 1797, called to his Cabinet Timothy Pickering, Oliver Wolcott, James McHenry, Joseph Habersham and Charles Lee. All had previously been members of Washington's Cabinet.

Thomas Jefferson, elected Nov. 1801, and re-elected in 1805, chose for his chief Cabinet officer James Madison, and held Joseph Habersham and Benjamin Stoddert. Joseph Habersham had been Post-Master-General under both President Washington and John Adams. He occupied the same position in Jefferson's Cabinet. Benjamin Stoddert had served as Secretary of the Navy under Adams, and was so continued by Jefferson.

James Madison, elected first in 1809, and re-elected in 1813, brought in James Monroe as his chief Cabinet adviser; and when Monroe was elected in 1817, he made John Quincy Adams Secretary of State. During these several Adminis-



trations, Congress passed no less than four slave trade acts.

The *first* is the act of 1807. The *second* is the act of 1818. The *third* is the act of 1819.

Its first section of the last authorizes the President to employ armed vessels of the United States to enforce the acts of Congress prohibiting the slave trade.

The *fourth* is the act of 1820, making the slave trade piracy. The great blow given to slavery by the Declaration of Independence, caused Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, in 1780, to pass acts for its abolition. New York followed in 1799, by gradual emancipation, to be completed in 1827. New Jersey passed an act in 1784 to gradually emancipate, to be completed in 1820. Rhode Island, in 1784. Connecticut in 1797. New Hampshire abolished slavery in her constitution. Vermont did the same, and was admitted into the Union March 4th, 1791. The North West Territory was made free under the Ordinance of 1787. Maine came into the Union with a free Constitution March 3d, 1820.

Thus for a period of 28 years the General Government was managed by men opposed to slavery. In fact nearly all civilized nations, at that time, were arrayed against it. An act in Great Britain, in 1807, made the slave trade unlawful. Denmark refused to admit African slaves in her Colonies after 1804. The Congress of Vienna, in 1815, pronounced for the abolition of the trade. France abolished it in 1817. So did Spain ; the acts to take effect after 1820. Portugal abolished it in 1818.

#### HEAR THEIR OPINIONS OF SLAVERY :

In a letter to Robert Morris, dated Mount Vernon, April 12, 1786, Washington says : " I can only say that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it. But there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished ; and that is by legislative authority, and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting."

John Adams, one of the Committee who assisted in drawing

up the Declaration of Independence ; the man whom Thomas Jefferson called the column of Congress, the pillar of support of the Declaration of Independence, and its ablest advocate and defender, agreed with Washington.

Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to a friend, dated July 31, 1814, remarks : “ What an incomprehensible machine is man, who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-man a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose.”

“ We must wait with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that a way is preparing for the deliverance of these our *brethren*, when the measure of their tears shall be full. When their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of Justice will awaken to their distress. *Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that this people shall be free.*”

James Madison, in speaking against the slave trade, said : “ It is to be hoped that by expressing a national disapprobation of the trade we may DESTROY it, and save our country from reproaches, and our posterity from the imbecility ever attendant on a country filled with *slaves*.” Furthermore, he said, “ It is wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there can be property in man.”

James Monroe, in a speech in the Virginia Convention, said : “ We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union, and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed.”

John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States, appointed 26th September, 1789, during Washington's Administration, in a letter to the Hon. Elias Boudinot, dated November 17th, 1819, says : “ Little can be added to what has been said and written on the subject of slavery. I concur in the opinion that it ought not to be introduced nor permitted in any of the new States, and that it ought to be gradually diminished and finally abolished in all of them.”



Our entire volume might be filled up with extracts from these great men's writings and speeches. From 1789 until 1817, a period of twenty-eight years, so distasteful were the slave sentiments of South Carolina statesmen, that through eight successive presidential terms not one of its leading men ever held a seat in the Cabinet of any of the Presidents, save and except Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy under Madison, in 1809 ; and we have the best of evidence that he was a man of liberal views, or he would not have been chosen for one of the Cabinet officers.

#### SATAN ENTERED PARADISE.

It was on the 8th day of October, 1817, that the Devil entered Paradise. John C. Calhoun, then young, with principles little understood, was chosen by James Monroe as his Secretary of War. Up to this time no question had arisen in the councils of the General Government that threatened any serious disturbance. In 1819 and 1820 Missouri, formed out of the Louisiana purchase, organized with a slave Constitution, and knocked at the door of the Union for admission. This was the first time since the adoption of the Federal Constitution that slavery presented itself in a political aspect. There was a peculiar clause in the Missouri Constitution, not only establishing slavery, but also *forbidding any legislative interference with it*. This was something uncommon in State constitutions, and the doctrine of placing any State institutions above and beyond the reach of legislative authority was received by many as dangerous. Many other objections were made, but finally the controversy settled down on the single question of slavery : *Has a State a right to have slavery if she chooses ?*

In this controversy the excitement ran very high ; sharp words were used by both disputants ; and a division of the Union was threatened on the line of slavery. Finally the exciting controversy was brought to a close by a Compromise, which generally leaves both disputants dissatisfied.

As a sample of how little use a compromise is to either

party, I will relate the following of our worthy President: When the Pacific Railroad question was up before Congress, friends of the New York and Erie Railroad called upon President Lincoln and desired him to use his influence to have Congress adopt the broad guage, so that the Erie Railroad could run their cars through to California. Mr. Lincoln remarked that friends of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad had called on him the week before, requesting his influence in favor of a narrow guage. Says he, "If I was to grant your request they would be dissatisfied, so, gentlemen, I think the best thing I can do is to compromise, making it a little wider than the track of the Central, and not quite so wide as the Erie."

Missouri, with slavery in her Constitution, was admitted; but the opponents of slavery secured, as an offset, the abolition of slavery in all the remaining province of Louisiana north and west of the State of Missouri, and north of the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes.

Our treaty, wherein Spain ceded us Florida, and the General Government ceded Texas to Spain, (this territorial trade having taken place in 1819, and taking the two treaties together,) very nearly extinguished slave territory in the United States. Except the diagram marked out for Arkansas, and a few Indian reserves, it cut off all below 36 deg. 30 min., the Missouri Compromise cutting off all that vast expanse of Louisiana north of 36 deg. 30 min. This Treaty gave, first to Spain, second to Mexico, all the slave territory south of the aforesaid line. Coming into the possession of Mexico, it became free. Now add the Ordinance of 1787, ceding the Northwest Territory to the General Government, in all of which slavery and involuntary servitude, except for crime, was forever excluded. By this all the country east of the Mississippi, above the Ohio, and out to the Great Lakes, was made free. And the Missouri Compromise extinguished it north and west of the State of Missouri, and north of the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min., except, as before stated, the diagram of Arkansas and a few Indian reserves.

Thus the reader can see that in 1820 Arkansas and Florida



was the only slave territory belonging to the General Government. The increase of slave States was stopped. And all the vast expanse from the Mississippi river, Lake Michigan, Rocky Mountains, and Oregon, by action of the General Government, was all made free territory, and with the consent and support of Southern men then in Congress, and approved by their constituents at home, who were, almost to a man, then opposed to the further extension of slavery.

The excitement created by the discussion of the Missouri Compromise had been allayed, and all was calm again. Mr. Monroe's term of office was about expiring. Andrew Jackson for President, and John C. Calhoun for Vice President, both slave holders. In opposition to them was Adams for President, and Clay for Vice President. Yet nothing was said in the campaign to arouse the feelings of either section concerning slavery. Jackson, Adams, Clay and Crawford, were all candidates for the Presidency in this campaign of 1825. Jackson received 99 electoral votes; Adams 84; Crawford 41; and Clay 37. Neither of the persons voted for having received a majority of the votes, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to choose from the three highest on the list of those voted for by the electors for President; which three were Andrew Jackson, John Q. Adams, and Wm. Crawford. The votes of thirteen States were given for Adams; the votes of seven States for Jackson; and the votes of four States for Crawford. John Quincy Adams having received a majority of the votes of all the States of the Union was duly elected President of the United States, commencing the 4th of March, 1825. John C. Calhoun, who had run on the ticket with Jackson, received 182 electoral votes, which elected him Vice President.

Mr. Adams was a candidate for re-election in 1829, with Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President, both from the free States. Jackson and Calhoun, both slave holders, were the opposition; yet nothing to arouse the feelings concerning slavery was said by either party. The only question of importance before the voters, was the right of the peo-



ple to govern themselves. This issue was brought forward on account of the previous election going to the House, and it was openly charged that intrigue and corruption were the leading features of it. Jackson received 178 electoral votes, Adams only 83. Calhoun did not receive as many as Jackson. The falling off was in Georgia, where Mr. Crawford charged home on him his connection with the Aaron Burr Plot.

In the second year of his Vice Presidency, Calhoun and his South Carolina friends, seeing that the action of the Federal Government had been almost unanimous in favor of freedom ; the vast territories, even those that had been acquired from France and Spain, being nearly all made free, they perceived that slavery was hemmed in, and without an outlet it would soon become a burden rather than a profit.

At this time Calhoun's friends started a paper in Washington City, called the United States Telegraph. In this paper he commenced to advocate the State Rights' doctrine. He was very violent for the scheme which he and his slave-holding friends had set on foot, for nothing less than a dissolution of the Union. This was to be accomplished through the doctrine of State Rights. Getting that poison well infused into the Democratic party, backed up by so formidable an element, the State of South Carolina could quietly retire from the Union. To give his ideas more force, Calhoun called a meeting on the evening of the 13th of April. This was Jefferson's birth day. His object was to use that great man's name as god-father for his new political heresy, Jefferson having died on the 4th of July, 1826, and this meeting was in 1830. It was Calhoun's design to put words into Jefferson's mouth that he never uttered. But the news got spread about, and a large gathering was present ; among the rest, President Jackson, who had got an inkling of what was to be. Jackson was called upon to act as President of the meeting. After the 24 regular toasts were delivered, eulogizing the great Jefferson, some one in the assembly called for a volunteer toast from the President. This toast not only proved Jackson's far-seeing statesmanship, but also his devoted patriotism. He rose from his seat,

all eyes upon him. In an instant the excitement and bustle of the crowd was hushed into the stillness of death. Without pencil or paper, he did not read anything before prepared, but spoke directly from his heart: "*Our Federal Union. It must be preserved.*" What a storm of applause followed! Jackson did not say it *ought*, or it *should*, but "*It must be preserved.*"

These were words spoken in the right place and at the right time, and the American citizen does not live, without his mind is rotten with treason, but will say Amen to the sentiment, and tell it to his children and their children's children, to be repeated in all coming time. The general joy and good feeling that had been kindled by the President's happy hit, was interrupted by some friend of Calhoun's, who got on a seat and loudly called for a toast from him. After quiet was restored, Calhoun read the following:

"The Union next to our liberties the most dear. May we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States, and distributing equally the benefits and burdens of the Union."

The snake now came stealthily from the grass. The Union was put second to our liberties, when it was the only thing that gave us liberty. The rights of the States was then lugged in and placed paramount to the Union, when any man of judgment knows that if the Union was dissolved all the rights remaining to the States would be the right of force, to fight and use each other up—always preparing for war, engaged in war, or suing for peace. This would be the legacy left to the States if the Union was gone.

As we before remarked, Jefferson was to be made godfather to this State Rights heresy. This doctrine of state rights *was, and is yet*, that a State has a right to annul an act of Congress, and resist by force, if need be, its execution. The Virginia Resolutions of '98-99 were so warped and misconstrued by Calhoun, as to favor the above heresy. Mr. Madison, their author, still lived on his farm; and in letters to Mr. Maguire and Everett, and in his daily intercourse with his fellow citizens, denounced the use that was being made of his



resolutions. Mr. Madison's interpretation of their meaning, was that they sustained and advised only constitutional means of redress, while those of Calhoun counseled violence and revolution. Instead, says Madison, of Virginia counseling nullification doctrine, the occasion was viewed as a proper one for exemplifying its devotion to public order, and acquiescence in laws which it deemed unconstitutional, while those laws were not repealed—meaning the *alien and sedition laws*. Calhoun had also dragged the Kentucky Resolutions of '99 into the support of his heresy, claiming Thos. Jefferson as their author. Thus the celebration of his birth-day—although Jefferson was not the author. The resolutions were passed at the same time as those of Virginia, and contemplating the same grievance; yet all the remedies they proposed were pointed out in the Federal Constitution. Both sets of resolutions contemplated only Constitutional remedies. But “nullification,” says Madison, “inserts deadly poison in the institution we had labored to construct.” Mr. Madison also understood Mr. Jefferson's views, which were likewise being misrepresented.

December, 18, 1831, Madison, in answer to a letter from Mr. Townsend, of South Carolina, remarks: “You ask whether Mr. Jefferson was really the author of the Kentucky resolutions, wherein the word ‘nullify’ is used, (though not in the sense of South Carolina nullification.) The inference is that he was not. That Mr. Jefferson ever asserted a right of a single State to resist the execution of an act of Congress, is counteracted by nothing known to be said or done by him.”

We have now proved that the Virginia Resolutions contemplated only Constitutional means of redress; also, that those of Kentucky were harmless, being similar to those of Virginia. That James Madison while living repudiated the State Rights heresy, and vindicated the views of Thomas Jefferson, who was then dead, by proving that he held the doctrine that it was not necessary to find a right to coerce in the Federal articles, that being inherent in the very nature of a compact. Having proved by their own testimony that Madison and Jef-



person were both opposed to the *heresy of State Rights*, and that they both claimed for the General Government the right to exercise its authority and power to overcome resistance. Therefore this heresy did not originate with either the author of the Declaration of Independence, or the author of the Constitution of the United States ; but with the champion of the slave power, in the person of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.

We have now arrived at the point to show the real designs of the nullifiers. Men seldom act without motives, either in an individual capacity or collectively. When the motives are evil, and not likely to be seconded by the public, an ardent desire for success compels the manager or managers to substitute other reasons more in harmony with the feelings of the people whom they aim to deceive.

Although slavery yet lingered, (would to God it had died) no one was bold enough to pray for its recovery, and nearly all would have rejoiced over its death. Southern men had by their votes in Congress shut it out of all the Territories of the United States. Many of the organized states had, and were abolishing it. The General Government was counted as its enemy. The moral and political sentiment of the entire nation was set against it. Against such a heavy sea of public and Legislative opinion, few men in any age would have stepped forward as its champion.

*South Carolina, the only State in the Union, except Mississippi,* that has more slaves within its borders than free white citizens, furnished the man. He would have come from Mississippi, but for the reason that it had only a surplus of 14,160 slaves, while South Carolina could boast of 110,421 surplus above her white population. Thus the demon, with all the venom of eternal hate, came right from the very throne of the slave power. John C. Calhoun was his name.

After surveying the situation, he began to mature the plan of attack. The will of the people was known to be against the wishes of him and his friends. Nothing was left for him but to throw himself back on the rights of the States. This

was admirable, but the object was first to unite the people of South Carolina—second, that being done, all the slave States, like ripe fruit, would fall into the lap of Nullification.

Presuming that a State had an inherent right to *secede*, the next thing was to convince the people of the South that it was their interest to do so. And for this purpose he used the Tariff. The South, being an agricultural region, was easily convinced that a high tariff on foreign imports was injurious to them. He next undertook to explain to the South that these high duties were placed on specific articles, and was done, as special favor, to protect local interests. Thus he said to the people of the South, You are being taxed to support Northern manufacturers. And it was on this popular issue he planted his nullification flag, and gathered around it his friends and dupes. The throne of the slave power, located in South Carolina, was his backer, and the slaveholders throughout the South, who loved slavery better than they did the Union, were his friends, and his dupes were such of the Democrats from the free States as had become alarmed for the safety of the party, and made a close alliance, by agreeing to drop the good old democratic doctrine of the *rights of man, founded in human nature*, and advocated by the apostle of democracy, Thomas Jefferson. These men threw all such rights to the wind, and greedily seized the great instrument of the slave power, *State Rights*. This new bastard democracy meant the right to destroy, peaceably or by force, (when ready,) the Federal Union.

It was thought necessary, in order to get this matter fairly before the nation, to call a Convention. So the 24th day of November, 1832, was set as the time, and Columbia, South Carolina, as the place of meeting.

This was the first open renouncement that had ever been made in any State against the General Government. *And here it is proper to give Calhoun's Vision, or dream, as he sometimes called it, and the origin of the spot on the back of his hand:*

It was on the Sabbath, late in the month of October, 1832, Calhoun, after a chat with his friends, retired to his room, resolved to pen the article, or forge the wedge, that was to



divide the Union of the States. With treason in his heart, and treachery in his soul, all alone he sat down at his table and commenced to write the Ordinance of *Nullification, or article of dissolution*.

## THE VISION.

“While sitting at the table,” says Calhoun, “having taken the precaution to lock my door, to prevent the possibility of being annoyed, I thought I heard it softly open. I was then engaged in writing the ordinance to be read at the meeting to be held at Columbia, South Carolina, the next month. My back was towards the door, and being engaged in deep thought, I did not turn round again. A noise struck my ear like the agitation of flowing robes. I looked around, and behold a tall figure stood erect. A death-like fluttering seized my heart ; my nerves gave way ; my sinews became weak and soft like flesh ; my entire frame became unstrung, and trembled, as by instinct, for its own preservation.

“When these awful sensations had passed over me, I rallied as though frightened from the effects of a dream. On opening my eyes, behold an officer, wearing the uniform of the Continental army standing by my table, and, as it were, his eyes fixed upon my manuscript. He gradually raised his eyes from the paper, and looked earnestly into mine. I returned the gaze as well as I could. We remained motionless for thirty seconds, when all at once I felt a chilly sensation of awe pass through me. I spoke, without effort, these words, and I never shall forget them : *It is the features of the immortal Washington ; thou hast come from the realms of the dead. For what hast thou come, O, hero of the Revolution?*

“He spoke, in a firm, clear voice : ‘John Caldwell Calhoun, desist. South Carolina produced one of the greatest martyrs to liberty, in the person of Hayne, and let it not be written on her history that she also gave birth to the blackest traitor recorded in the annals of time. Look only to an everlasting union of the States. In union there will be peace ; in union there will be prosperity ; in union there will be happiness ;



in *union* there will be *liberty*. Dissolution is political annihilation ; it would be *death*.'

"Finishing these remarks, he caught hold of my right hand, and pressed his thumb hard on its back, and remarking, 'Across the articles of dissolution, stretched the skeleton of Hayne, and on the back of your hand will a black spot be visible through the remainder of your life.'"

Calhoun has told this to several of his friends, and always remarking he could not tell whether it was a vision or a dream. In after years, when he would become worked up to great mental excitement in his debates on the right of secession or nullification, he invariably fell to rubbing the black spot on his hand, as though it annoyed him.

If the black spot had appeared on Calhoun's head, instead of his hand, it could easily be accounted for on the ground that he was the first victim to that awful Southern scourge, "*nigger on the brain*." But we are rather inclined to think that his was only a severe case of a previous malady known as "plantation grip."

Calhoun sent down his ordinance to South Carolina ; and on the appointed day, in November, the nullifiers assembled at Columbia, and raised the banner of Secession. The chief grievance set forth was the Tariff, which they alleged was passed to protect manufacturers of the North at the expense of the South. The most remarkable thing they stated in the ordinance was, that they intended to maintain their resolve to withdraw from the Union at any hazard, even to the force of arms. This ordinance was signed by over one hundred of the wealthiest slaveholders in the State of South Carolina, and returned to Calhoun. The Tariff was, as we before stated, only adopted as a means to raise the popular outcry. The Tariff could easily have been changed by changing Congress ; therefore there was no cause for secession on that ground.

But we will now prove by incontestable evidence where the real trouble was. About this time Calhoun delivered a speech in the Senate. It was after his Vice Presidency had expired, some time in 1833. He remarked : "The contest

will in fact be a contest between power and liberty, and such he considered the present contest between South Carolina and the General Government—a contest in which the weaker section, *with peculiar labor, productions and situation*, has at stake all that is dear to freemen.”

One man in the Senate and one in the House had sagacity enough to see the *black man in the fence*.

Daniel Webster, in answer to Calhoun, said: “Sir, the world will scarcely believe that this whole controversy, and all the desperate means which its support requires, has no other foundation than a difference of opinion between a majority of the people of South Carolina on the one side, and a vast majority of the people of the United States on the other. The world will not credit the fact. We who hear and see it can ourselves hardly yet believe it.”

John Q. Adams was the member in the House. He said: “In opposition to the compromise of Mr. Clay, no victim is necessary, and yet you propose to bind us hand and foot, to pour out our blood upon the altar, to appease the unnatural discontent of the South—a discontent having deeper root than the Tariff, and will continue when that is forgotten.”

If Mr. Adams had put on the mantle of Jeremiah, or Isaiah, he could not have surpassed in prophetic accuracy, or wise discrimination, the above last paragraph.

Mr. Benton says, in his *Thirty Years*, that the remarks of Calhoun had the appearance of laying an anchor to the windward for a new agitation on a new subject after the Tariff was dead.

President Jackson, in his message to Congress, in 1832–33, puts the hollow cheat of State Rights to rest: “The right of a people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberties and happiness of millions comprising this nation, cannot be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be wholly repugnant, both to the principles upon which the General Government is constituted, and the objects which it is expressly formed to obtain.”



This was a bomb into the camp of the nullifiers, and gave them to understand what they must expect if they still persisted in their treasonable designs. Jackson held to the Union without any *ifs* or *buts*. A favorite remark of his, in conversation with friends, was, that no sectional interest or sectional discontent should ever be allowed to weaken the bonds or break up the Federal Union.

When Calhoun saw these unconditional Union sentiments in Jackson's message, he knew it was a salvo from the peacemaker, shot only across the bow, as a warning to heave to. He knew well that the next discharge would be a broadside that would shiver his piratical craft to atoms. So Captain Calhoun, with his brig South Carolina, and ordinance, rounded to, and continued under the guns of the frigate Constitution, Commodore Andrew Jackson, commander, until Mr. Clay, under the instruction of one of the Commodore's aids, Mr. Clayton, prepared articles of capitulation, which the piratical captain of the South Carolina readily signed, acknowledging the power of the Constitution and nationality of her flag.

As we before mentioned that Calhoun had control of a newspaper published in Washington, here is an extract from a speech delivered by the Hon. Isaac Hill, of New Hampshire, as to its character: "For the last five years it has been laboring to produce a Northern and Southern party, to fan the flame of national prejudice, to open wider the breach, drive harder in the wedge which shall divide the North from the South."

Thus the reader can see that the slave power used every effort to create sectional hate and divide the Union years before either Thompson, Tappan or Garrison came into the field.

Thus the storm originated in the most densely slave populated region of the South. When it reached the Ship of State, the political elements became agitated, darkness covered the southern horizon, while black darkness hovered round the masts of the great ship as it rocked to and fro in the vortex of contending elements. The storm and the sea appeared in desperate conflict which should secure the



mighty prize, freighted as it was with the accumulated treasure and precious lives of twenty millions of people, whose hopes of happiness were all concentrated there. Old masters with different hopes, looked on from afar—some hoping that she might sink and be lost in the storm—others shedding tears at her distress, and praying that she might survive, when all at once the elements became calm, the mist disappeared, and revealed to the wondering millions the great ship in all her majestic pride.

Commodore Jackson had subdued the storm, brought order out of confusion, and kindled hopes in the hearts of his countrymen. *Would to God we had them now.*

Thus ended the first effort of the slave power to destroy the Union. It failed, but did not abandon the enterprise; the darker the prospect, the more desperate grew its friends.

#### AN ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE PRESIDENT JACKSON—NEW THREATS OF DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

The slave power having been defeated in its first attempt to destroy the Federal Union by the sagacity and courage of Andrew Jackson, withdrew to its den of infamy to devise new and desperate schemes for the future. It feared as well as hated the man who defeated nullification. Calhoun himself became more embittered by reflection, and was frequently heard to say that Jackson was a *tyrant* and *despot*, and better men than he had been hung. In fact, it was no uncommon thing at that time to hear threats against the President's life. The corrupting influence of the moneyed power of the United States Bank joined hands with the slave power, although from very different motives. Both would have been delighted to have heard of Jackson's assassination. But the plot to overthrow republican institutions was far more atrocious. In the presence of a crime of such magnitude all other crimes grow pale. Thus Calhoun had a soul ever ready to betray human nature, with a heart as black as night.

About this time, 30th of January, 1835, while the President with a few members of his Cabinet were in attendance at the

funeral of Mr. Waren R. Davis, a Member of Congress from South Carolina, who had just died at Washington, and the funeral ceremonies were being conducted in the Hall of Representatives, where all had congregated, when the ceremonies were over, and the procession had just reached the foot of the steps at the eastern portico, President Jackson, accompanied by Mr. Woodbury, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Dickerson, Secretary of the Navy, on coming out of the door, at that moment a man stepped from the crowd into the open space in front of the President, and at a distance of about eight paces, drew a pistol from beneath his cloak—aiming at the heart of the President, attempted to fire. The cap exploded without igniting the powder in the barrel. He immediately drew from beneath his cloak another, which he had held ready cocked in his left hand, and pointing as before, this cap also exploded without firing the powder in the barrel. At this moment the President rushed at him with uplifted cane; the traitor shrunk back, and Lieutenant Gedney, of the navy, knocked him down. He was secured by the bystanders and taken before Justice Cranch, who committed him in default of bail. His name proved to be Richard Lawrence, an Englishman by birth, and a house-painter by trade. The pistols were examined and found loaded. Caps were put on them, and both fired without fail, the balls going through inch boards thirty feet distant.

The friends of the President felt it to be a grateful interposition of the Almighty. All looked upon his escape as miraculous, having its origin in the all-wise providence of God. The conduct of the assassin excited and surprised every one. The boldness of the undertaking in broad daylight, and in a public gathering, was all weighed and turned over. The great precaution of the assassin in providing two pistols, fearing one might fail, was argued as evidence of a deep laid plot. Various were the surmises, and finally some one suggested that he must be insane. At this suggestion the Marshal of the District of Columbia called a council of physicians to examine and report. Drs. Caussin and Sewell were the



men selected. They made the examination, and concluded not to give any official opinion, but to make their report on questions as they put them, and the answers as he gave them. We give a few of the questions and answers to show the leading features of his mind.

*Q.* Did any one advise you to shoot General Jackson ?

*A.* I don't like to say.

*Q.* Have you ever been in Congress, and heard the members making speeches ?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* How did you like the speeches of Calhoun, Clay and Webster ?

*A.* I liked them well.

*Q.* Who would you like to see President ?

*A.* Either Calhoun, Clay or Webster.

*Q.* Are you friendly to General Jackson ?

*A.* No.

*Q.* Why not ?

*A.* Because he is a tyrant.

We have given enough of this report to show that this man, whether deranged or not, had strong prejudices against Jackson, and a high opinion of his most bitter enemies ; using the word tyrant, a phrase Calhoun was always applying to Jackson. His admiration for Calhoun was supposed by many to be caused by an affinity of interest, or an accidental union of feelings of revenge against a common foe.

Whether this man was induced to attempt to murder the President by listening to his defamer making speeches in the Senatè, the greatest of which was Calhoun, or whether he was secretly hired to assassinate him, God alone can determine.

There is no doubt but the death of Jackson would have been received by Calhoun as the tocsin of victory. Add to this his deep and long seated revenge, and you have two very strong motives in a bad man's heart to commit crime. Either Lawrence's intellect was weak, and the storm created by the slave power drove him to attempt the crime, or he was se-



cretly hired by its friends to do it. Either one would fasten the guilt direct or remote on the President's defamers, the principal of which was John C. Calhoun.

We can not dismiss the history of those thrilling events, without giving an extract from Jackson's Farewell Address. As putting down the attempted disolution of the Union was one of the greatest achievements of his Administration, he still saw that a new effort would be made. He says: "What have you to gain by division and dissolution? Delude not yourselves with the belief that a breach once made may be afterwards repaired. If the Union is once severed, the line of separation will grow wider, and the controversies that are now debated and settled in the halls of legislation, will be tried on fields of battle, and determined by the sword. Neither should you deceive yourselves with the hope that the line of separation would be the permanent one, and that nothing but harmony and concord would be found in the new associations formed on the disolution of the Union."

These solemn warnings Jackson left to the nation, just before quitting office and returning to his home to die.

The storm created by the slave power during Jackson's Administration, had become lulled to a calm. Arkansas and Michigan had both been admitted into the Union during his term of office. No slave territory now remained to be formed into slave states except Florida.

Martin Van Buren was inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1837, and during his term of office nothing very exciting took place concerning slavery. Its friends were evidently recruiting from the Waterloo defeat given them by Jackson, but had not yet determined on the mode of another attack.

In 1839, the Hon. Wm. Slade of Vermont, a member of the Lower House of Congress, presented petitions from his constituents, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. This brought down the ire of several Southern members. Among them, Wise of Virginia, endeavored to prevent Slade from speaking by enforcing parliamentary rules,

alleging that he was out of order. Finally, after repeated efforts, a vote was carried to adjourn, sixty-three members voting against it. Here, Mr. Campbell of South Carolina, jumped on a chair, and requested all members from slave holding states to go at once into the District Committee Room, where a meeting was being organized.

Rhett of South Carolina, wrote to the Charleston Mercury, declaring that the Constitution had failed to protect the South in her rights, and advised a dissolution of the Union, and proposed that two persons from each slave state should meet and report on the best means peaceably to dissolve the Union. Although six years had hardly passed away since the nullification defeat, another attempt was now made on a larger scale. *Mr. Patten* of Virginia, became the pacifier in this controversy, and the ire of South Carolina simmered down.

The threatened dissolution of the Union on the line of slavery, made so soon after the defeat of the effort of South Carolina, convinced the thinking men of all parties at the North that nullification was not dead, but sleepeth.

About this time, 1838-9, Mr. Clay made a speech in the Senate against agitating the slavery question. His very speech was agitation, for he could not help but know that any kind of agitation was death to slavery. To speak in its favor is an insult to a savage, and much more to a civilized man, who weighs the actions of men and governments in the scale of justice. To speak against it, drags the hideous outlaw and criminal from his dark abode into the light, who, to be hated, needs only to be seen. It was in that speech Clay made his famous attack on Daniel O'Connell, the Irish liberator. The latter had made some remarks against slavery in the British House of Commons. Mr. Clay, referring to that, remarked: "that he regarded his speech as the ravings of a plunderer of his own country, and the vilifier of a foreign and kindred people."

The political horizon about this time looked rather hazy, although there was no appearance of an immediate storm. The politicians were now beginning to urge the claims of party



favorites whom they wish to become presidential candidates. Two financial crises had occurred—one at the commencement, the other at the close of Mr. Van Buren's administration. The banks in the different States had become so crippled by the crisis, that they joined the friends of the United States Bank, and both charged Mr. Van Buren and the Democratic party, with being the authors of all the financial distress.

The Democrats re-nominated Martin Van Buren, with Richard M. Johnston as Vice President, for a second term ; while the Whigs re-nominated their old candidates who ran in 1836, William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice President. Thus the presidential aspirants for the election of 1840 were brought into the field.

The banks, as before stated, made common cause with the Whig party, and gave their undivided support to secure the election of Harrison and Tyler. Financial ruin was everywhere evident ; the political element was charged with national discontent ; the people themselves had resolved upon a change. Add to this state of things, the millions of money thrown into the canvass by the discontented banks—it made this the most exciting election ever witnessed. When the campaign fairly opened, the pressure became such that *everything gave way*. The mechanics forsook their workshops, the farmers their plows, to join the electioneering cavalcades that were everywhere to be met moving on to conventions. The thoroughfares were crowded with processions made up from all professions and trades. Mounted on long coupled wagons could be seen on his seat the shoemaker, with his awl and last, at work at his shoe ; the tailor down on his bench, plying his needle and thread, with his goose by his side ; the sadler at work at his tree ; the harness-maker at his trace ; the tinsmith at his kettle ; and the blacksmith, with his leather apron, tongs and sledge, at work on his anvil ; the farmers, not to be outdone, were there with their threshing-floors and help, threshing grain with their old Indian flails ; the pioneer and his log hut, with latch-strings outside, and a dog and gun in position within ; men in companies of fifty, strip-



ped to the waist, with Indian costumes, having long black hair hanging down to the waist, with quivers, tomahawks, scalping-knives, and bow, all painted and mounted on horse-back, going through the various evolutions of Indian warriors advancing to battle ; add to this their hideous yell, accompanied with the ring of the anvil and sound of the flail, the sweet music of the band, and still sweeter voice of lovely women, joining in the loud chorus—

“ We'll just take a cup of hard cider,  
And drink to old Tippecanoe.”

Never was there such a popular uprising of the people. At Dayton, Ohio, a convention was held one month before the presidential election. The old hero of Tippecanoe was there. The crowd, measured by the acre, by competent engineers, showed one hundred thousand people. A flag-pole and flag on top of a house was the sign for free lunch within. Eight hundred poles of that kind were counted. Men of all ages and conditions in life mingled together as brethren in a common cause. Old grandmothers, with tottering steps, supported by buckeye canes ; women with children in their arms ; young misses and boys jostling about as the great crowd swayed to and fro.

The election over, Harrison got two hundred and thirty-four electoral votes. Van Buren only sixty.

Thus ended one of the greatest political excitements, terminating peacefully, that ever occurred in any country. The people had triumphed in electing a man of their choice.

The day of political intrigue was now inaugurated. In 1838, during Van Buren's administration, Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, had proposed the annexation of Texas. In his speech on that occasion he remarked : “ The treaty, Mr. President, of 1819 was a great oversight on the part of the Southern States. We went into it blindly. I must say the great importance of Florida, to which the public mind was strongly awakened at that time, by peculiar circumstances.

led us precipitately into a measure by which we threw away a gem that would have bought ten Floridas."

Another remark in Mr. Preston's speech is worthy of notice. Speaking of the boundary of 1819, he said, "It places a foreign nation on the rear of our Mississippi settlements, and brings it within a stone's throw of the great outlet which discharges the commerce of the Union."

Although Mr. Van Buren and the slave power had made friends, and South Carolina gave him the first electoral vote she had given to any President for twelve years, although there was strong evidence of an understanding, neither Mr. Preston's speech, nor the strong arm of Executive will, could convince the Senate that while Texas was at war with Mexico the proper time for annexation had come. By annexing Texas, we annexed war. And a motion to lay the proposition on the table prevailed by a vote of 24 to 14.

The annexation of Texas now became the great scheme of the slave power. Originating as it did in South Carolina, it came into the national councils with the *smell of treason*. Between 1820 and 1830 nearly three hundred families from the various slave States, mostly from Louisiana, had received permission from Spain, while Spanish authority was still maintained in Mexico, to settle in that fertile region, under the express condition that they should submit to the laws of the country. In the meantime Mexico separated from Spain, and immediately passed laws abolishing slavery in her dominions, and also *prohibiting it in all future time*. This the new settlers in Texas did not relish. Backed up by the slave power of the Southern States, a great number of lawless adventurers from the border slave States went over into Texas, hatched a conspiracy, and organized rebellion against Mexico, and, with a population of less than twenty thousand, declared themselves free. Thus war between Texas and Mexico was commenced.

There was no more slave territory belonging to the United States, except Florida. Mexico had abolished slavery, and passed laws prohibiting it forever. The growth of the slave



power demanded more room. The General Government had no territory except that in which slavery was prohibited by positive enactment. By surveying the situation, the slaveholders and nullifiers of South Carolina discovered Texas. Thus Mr. Preston's effort, under Van Buren's Administration, to annex ; also, his remarks about a foreign nation being placed in the rear of our Mississippi settlement, had a double meaning : first, they were foreign because it belonged to Mexico ; second, it was foreign to the Mississippi settlement because they were slave, and Mexico had declared Texas free.

Thus the greedy slave power, with an appetite not to be appeased, stood watching its chosen victim with the one absorbing thought—*how can I secure it*. It was at this interesting moment that General Harrison came to Washington to assume his duties as Chief Magistrate of the nation. Although born in a slave state, still, like Jefferson, he was opposed to slavery. As soon as he got cleverly warm in his seat, he was visited by J. C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Messrs. Gilmore and Upshur of Virginia, and two others, whose names we have forgotten. These five men had the interest of slavery committed to their care, and the object of their visit to the President was to ascertain his views about annexing Texas. This interview took place in the President's reception room. After passing the usual compliments of the day, Calhoun became the spokesman. He said :

“General, the subject of annexation, I believe, like a motion to adjourn, is always in order. The object of our visit is to ascertain your views concerning the annexation of Texas.” To which General Harrison made the following reply : that he had not given the subject that attention it deserved ; therefore he could not speak positively as to what policy he would pursue. But he could say this much—if Texas had her independence acknowledgd by Mexico, then, under certain conditions, he would favor annexation.

This was about all that passed on that subject at that interview, and the Southern gentlemen retired. They did not even ask the General what these conditions were. He had



said sufficient to satisfy them that he was not the man to carry out their plot, with such men as Webster and Ewing in his Cabinet. Their success was next to impossible. Then for the next best thing. They had staked all their hopes on getting back Texas. The South was perishing for the want of more slave territory, and the defeat of Van Buren by Harrison was now about to prevent their success. They immediately went to see John Tyler at his own home in Virginia, and after explaining every thing to him, he agreed to the great necessity of securing Texas at once, and at all hazards ; but I am powerless, says Tyler. I will leave the management of the matter with you. If I should ever become President I would exert the entire influence of that office to accomplish the object.

This was joyful news. They had found the right man, and only one thing was wanting to get him in the right place. President Harrison was near seventy years old, and a little would suffice to put him aside. He had already lived to a good old age, and received many honors. "He can not, in the course of nature, live but a short time longer. He is surrounded by a bad set of men who will do all they can to defeat our darling annexation scheme. We can not get rid of them without we first get rid of the old man himself. They determined rather than be defeated to murder the President."

On the 17th of March the Chief Magistrate issued a Proclamation convening Congress in extraordinary session for the 31st of May ensuing. He was enjoying his usual good health. "Thus," says Mr. Benton, "President Harrison did not live to meet the Congress which he had thus convoked. Short as the time was that he had fixed for its meeting, his own time on earth was still shorter. In the last days of March he was taken ill. On the 4th day of April he was dead. *There was no failure of health or strength to indicate such an event, or to excite apprehensions that he would not go through his term with the vigor he had commenced it. His attack was sudden and evidently fatal from the commencement.*"—*Benton's Thirty Years*, Vol. II, 210.

Mr. Benton evidently intended the above remarks to con-

vey to posterity that General Harrison did not die of natural disease—no failure of health or strength existed—but something sudden and fatal. He did not die of Apoplexy ; that is a disease. But arsenic would produce a sudden effect, and it would also be fatal from the commencement. This is the chief weapon of the medical assassin. Oxalic acid, prucic acid, or salts of strychnine, would be almost instant death, and would give but little advantage for escape to the murderer. Therefore his was not a case of *acute* poisoning, when death takes place almost instantaneously, but of *chronic*, where the patient dies slowly. He lived about six days after he received the drug.

By referring to the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Vol. XXV, 1841, it will be seen, that his case was at first considered complicated Pneumonia, but terminated in gastro intestinal irritation or inflammation, resulting in death in a little over four days from the time of the attack. The circumstances which surrounded the illness of President Harrison were such as to preclude all apprehensions of his physicians of any but natural causes for his sickness ; yet let us consider how similar are the symptoms of certain poisons, and the causes of natural disease, or disease from poisons that the best physicians may commit an error in their diagnosis, and not only fail to suspect the existence of poisons, but even prescribe and administer the established remedies, which only augment the difficulty, and, render the action of these poisons certainly fatal, as will be seen by referring to Taylor on Poisons, page 107 : “ To the practitioner the diagnosis of a case of poisoning is of great importance, as by mistaking the symptoms produced by a poison for those arising from natural disease, he may omit to employ the remedial measures which have been found efficacious in counteracting its effects, and thus lead to the certain death of a patient.”

Again, the same author, on the same page, says that if poisons are taken in large doses, and the person is in health, “ the symptoms appear suddenly.”

Again, on the same page :



“ It is very true that these powerful agents, given at intervals in small doses, do not cause those striking symptoms upon which a practitioner commonly relies as evidence of poisoning. They may then produce disorder, but of so slight a nature as scarcely to excite suspicion. In fact, under these circumstances, the symptoms often so closely resemble those of disease, that an experienced practitioner may be easily mistaken respecting their origin, especially when no circumstances exist to create the least suspicion of criminality on the part of relatives and others around the patient. Arsenic given in small doses, at long intervals, has thus occasioned symptoms resembling those which depend on chronic disease of the stomach. After repeated attacks and recoveries, suspicion may be completely disarmed. Among several cases of this kind which have been referred to me for investigation, was one in which it was alleged that a farmer, in one of the midland counties, had been poisoned two years before by his housekeeper, who was a respectable person, and most attentive to him as a nurse during his illness. He had been attacked at intervals with vomiting and other signs of disorder of the stomach about three months before his death, but recovered under medical treatment. About eight days before his death the symptoms recurred with greater violence than ever, and he sank under them. They were referred to ulceration of the stomach, so closely did they resemble those of disease. As there was no suspicion of poison, the body was not examined ; and nothing would have been known respecting the real cause of death, but for a statement made two years afterwards, by the housekeeper, that she had on two occasions administered to her master small doses of arsenic, and the last, probably from its being larger than the first, had occasioned death. In the case of *Reg. v. Wooler* (Durham Winter Assizes, 1855), it was proved that the deceased had been laboring under symptoms of poisoning by arsenic, for a period of about six weeks before her death. The symptoms showed that she must have received the poison at different periods in small doses. At first they were referred to



disease. It was, however, their continuance and their occasional violent recurrence in spite of treatment, that induced a suspicion of poisoning, which was confirmed by a chemical examination of the urine, and subsequently of the body."

From the foregoing quotations it will be seen how natural it was for any physician to have been mistaken in the case; and supposing this to be true, it is very evident that the remedies used in the case, being what Dr. Taylor calls irritants, such as mercury and antimony, and capable of augmenting the difficulty and adding to a condition already established, the cause of which not being suspected could only be followed by the fatal result. On page 109, the same author says: "A diseased state of the body may render a person comparatively unsusceptible of the actions of some poisons, while in other instances it may increase their action and render them fatal in small doses." Again, on the same page, he says: "In certain diseased states of the system, there is an increased susceptibility to the action of poison, or what is termed *intolerance* of certain drugs. Ordinary medicinal doses may in such cases exert a poisonous action. Thus, in persons who have a tendency to apoplexy, a small dose of opium may act more quickly and prove fatal. In one laboring under inflammation of the stomach or bowels, there would be an increased susceptibility of the action of arsenic, or other irritants."

Supposing the fatal agent used to have been arsenic, the use of mercury and antimony in his case certainly would come under the last considerations, "irritants," and cause an increase of the difficulty, and transfer the disease to the stomach and bowels. The whole class of symptoms of active diseases of the stomach and bowels, are closely allied to diseases produced by poisons of this class; and in almost every instance may be mistaken, as quoted above, for *natural* diseases. Such was the fact in the case of General Harrison; and under circumstances that would entirely exempt his physicians from blame or censure for any failure in diagnosis, or the administration of irritants in the treatment; such remedies being according to standard authority in his supposed disease;

while they are never recommended when poisons of the same kind are already in the system. As this case changed so much from the beginning, it is almost certain that the irritants used in the case fully developed the effect of the arsenic which he had taken, and resulted as above stated.

Dr. Taylor, on page 123, says: "The diseases, the symptoms of which resemble those produced by *irritant* poisons, are cholera, gastritis, enteritis, gastro-enteritis, peritonitis, perforation of the stomach or intestines, strangulated hernia, colic, and hæmatemesis." He further adds, page 125: "*Gastritis, Enteritis, Gastro-enteritis, Peritonitis.*—These diseases do not commonly occur without some obvious cause; indeed, the two first, in the acute form, must be regarded as the direct results of irritant poisoning. Thus arsenic and other irritants, when they prove fatal, commonly give rise to inflammation of the stomach and bowels. In all cases in which these diseases present themselves, the object of a practitioner is, therefore, to determine the *cause* of the inflammation, whether it be due to natural disease, or the action of an irritant poison."

With these facts, and the quoted authority, can any one doubt that General Harrison was poisoned, and also that his physicians overlooked the true nature of the malady. The attending physicians, Drs. May and Miller, supposed he died of billious pleurisy. His death occurred at half past 12 o'clock at night, Saturday, April 3d, 1841. About noon it was supposed he was getting better, but at 3 o'clock the symptoms became more violent, and at sundown his entire Cabinet Officers were informed that the symptoms were such that it was evident he must die.

All this time John Tyler was absent, at home on his farm in Virginia. Fletcher Webster, Chief Clerk in the State Department, was immediately dispatched to Virginia, to inform Tyler of the event; and on the 4th, the following official announcement was made:

"CITY OF WASHINGTON, April 4th, 1841.

"An all wise Providence having suddenly removed from



this life, William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States, we have thought it our duty, in the recess of Congress, and in the absence of the Vice President from the seat of Government, to make this afflicting bereavement known to the country, by this declaration under our hands.

“He died at the President’s House, in this city, 4th day of April, A. D., 1841, at thirty minutes before 1 o’clock in the morning. The people of the United States, overwhelmed, like ourselves, by an event so *unexpected*, and so melancholy, will derive consolation from knowing that his death was calm and resigned, as his life has been patriotic, useful, and distinguished; and that the last utterance of his lips expressed a fervent desire for the perpetuity of the Constitution and the preservation of its true principles. In death, as well as in life, the happiness of his country was uppermost in his thoughts.

[Signed,] “DANIEL WEBSTER, *Secretary of State*.

“THOMAS EWING, *Secretary of the Treas.*

“JOHN BELL, *Secretary of War*.

“J. J. CRITTENDEN, *Attorney General*.

“FRANCIS GRANGER, *Post-Master General*.”

On the 9th of April, Tyler issued an address to the people. Among other things, he said: “That for the first time in our history, the person elected to the Vice Presidency of the United States, by the happening of a contingency provided in the Constitution, has had devolved upon him the Presidential office.” (He must have felt keenly the sense of guilt that he deserved, and would receive the reproach of his countrymen when he penned the following sentence.) The spirit of faction, which is directly opposed to the spirit of lofty patriotism, may find it the occasion for assaults upon my Administration.”

Thomas Benton remarks: “Little did he think when he wrote the above sentence, that within three short months, within less time than a Commercial Bill of Exchange has to run, the great party which had elected him, and the Cabinet Officers should be united in that assault, and should lead the van of public outcry against him.”



Betraying and deceiving friends, formed the leading traits of his character. By this course he became extremely unpopular. The number of Cabinet Officers appointed by Presidents holding only one term, run thus: John Adams, 12; John Quincy Adams 7; Van Buren 10; Polk 9; Fillmore 11; Pierce 7; Buchanan 8; John Tyler 21. This outnumbered any of the two-term Presidents. Jackson, during the stormy times of both his Administrations, only had 19. If Tyler had served two terms at the same ratio, he would have had 42.

Thus ends the account of the campaign and election; also of the mysterious and sudden death of President Harrison. We now propose to show more fully the motives that induced his murder, by following up the assassins in the future development of their plot.

We mentioned in the preceding pages that five Southern men had visited the President shortly after he took his seat. We gave the names of three—Calhoun, Gilmore and Upshur—the latter two from Virginia. There were two others in company, but their names have slipped our memory. These gentlemen, after having the conversation with President Harrison, went directly to Richmond, Va., and from there to the Vice President John Tyler's house. They there addressed him, as a *Southern* man, and wanted to get his views on the annexation of Texas. We do not pretend to give the precise words of their two days' entertainment; only to demonstrate to the world that political intrigue and secret assassination were unanimously agreed upon, and afterwards successfully carried out.

Harrison was to be secretly put out of the way, so that John Tyler would become the Constitutional President. To reward those who dyed their hands in his innocent blood, Tyler solemnly agreed to betray the party that elected him, and forever turn his back on its men and its measures; and call, as his Cabinet advisers, the identical men who, by foul murder, had placed him in the Presidential Chair. It was not the

Democratic Party that Tyler had made an alliance with, but it was with the nullifiers and secessionists ; men who, in the interests of slavery, had secretly sworn to devote their whole lives to accomplish the destruction of the Federal Union.

The Whig Party very soon discovered that Tyler had turned his back on its policy ; and on the 11th day of September, 1841, Senator Dixon of Rhode Island, and Jeremiah Morrow of Ohio, both venerable with age, were appointed Presidents of a meeting held by the Whig Members of Congress. They issued what they termed a manifesto, renouncing said John Tyler. We copy the following :

“That he might be able to divert the policy of his Administration into a channel which should lead to new political combinations, and accomplish results which must overthrow the present division of parties in the country, and finally produce a state of things which those who elected him, at least, never contemplated.” Again : “He has *violently* separated himself from those by whose exertions and suffrages he was elected to that office, through which he reached his present exalted situation. The existence of this unnatural relation is as extraordinary as the announcement of it is painful and mortifying.”

On the same day of the manifesto, his Cabinet officers, all except Webster, resigned. He waited a short time to endeavor to effect a union of the Whig Party, by which he said he meant the Whig President, Whig Congress, and whig People. But Mr. Webster's stay was short.

This was what Tyler had been wishing for weeks—we mean the breaking up of the Cabinet. It gave him a chance to form a new one. He feels his way carefully, and only at the first selection brings in two of the *secret cabal*, as Henry Clay termed it—Alexander P. Upshur and Thomas W. Gilmore, Virginians. Both of these men had visited him at his house in Virginia, before General Harrison was poisoned. Thus Tyler was fulfilling his part of the contract with fidelity. Webster having remained longer than he was wanted as Secretary of State, had to be removed. Abruptness would have carried suspicion. Therefore, says Mr. Benton, a middle



course was adopted, the same which had been practiced with others in 1841—that of compelling a resignation. Mr. Tyler became reserved and indifferent to him. Mr. Gilmore and Mr. Upshur, with whom he had few affinities, took but little pains to conceal their distaste for him. It was evident to him, when the Cabinet met, that he was one too many. Reserve and distrust were visible both in the President and the Virginia part of his Cabinet. Mr. Webster felt it, and mentioned it to some of his friends. They advised him to resign. He did so, and the resignation was accepted with alacrity, which showed it was waited for. Mr. Upshur took his place, and quickly the Texas negotiation became official, though still private ; and in the appointment and immediate opening of Texas negotiation stood confessed the true reason for getting rid of Mr. Webster.—*2d vol. Benton, 30 yrs. pp. 562.*

As we before stated, the object of the conspiracy, which terminated in the murder of President Harrison, was to secure the annexation of Texas as an outlet for slavery. The crime they had committed was so horrible, that the revenge of Almighty God soon overtook them. On the 28th of February, 1844, a very large gun on board of the Princeton was to be fired as an experiment. Many persons went on board to witness it, among whom were the two Cabinet officers, Mr. Gilmore and Mr. Upshur. The vessel had proceeded down the Potomac below the Tomb of Washington, and at 4 o'clock in the evening, when returning, it was determined to fire the gun once more. Lieutenant Hunt having charge, the guests were feasting at the table, when the word came that the gun was to be fired again. They all rushed out to see. President Tyler also being on board, was called back by some one, while his Cabinet favorites walked, as it were, right into the jaws of death. The great gun exploded, killing only five persons out of the great number. Among the five were Gilmore and Upshur. Tyler was saved from the same fate by being called back to the other end of the vessel. Kennon, Marcey, and Mr. Gardener of New York, (who would have been father-in-law to John Tyler,) were the other three killed.

Sufficient of God's displeasure, one would suppose, had been witnessed to induce this bad man to stop. But no ; the very prince of Nullifiers, the deadly foe of the National Government and peace of the country—the sworn enemy of Freedom, and champion of Slavery—the secret mover of the attempted assassination of President Jackson, and poisoning of President Harrison—John C. Calhoun, was chosen Secretary of State, and John Y. Mason of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy !

Tyler's Cabinet was now gathered entirely from the slave States, except William Wilkins of Pennsylvania. He had what the South called a *reliable Cabinet* ; one that would go all lengths, and stop at nothing, to execute swiftly the will of the slave power.

The ultimate object of the plot, of which the poisoning of General Harrison only served as a means to carry out, remained yet to be accomplished. The scheme was hatched in South Carolina during Van Buren's term of office ; and was the idea of getting more slave territory, through the annexation of Texas. These bad men now pursued that object with a step as sure as time. A meeting was called in May, 1844, at Ashby, Barnwell district, South Carolina. The following is a part of the fourth resolution passed at that meeting : " That the alternative be presented to the *free* States, either to admit Texas into the Union, or to peaceably and calmly arrange the terms of a dissolution of the Union."

At another meeting, at Beaufort, same State, and about the same time, one of the resolutions was as follows : " If Texas is not annexed, we solemnly announce to the world, that we will dissolve this Union sooner than abandon Texas.

In the Williamsburg district, same State, another meeting was held. One resolution says : " We hold it to be better, and more to the interest of the South and southern portion of this Confederacy, to be out of the Union with Texas, than in it without her."

The reader can see by the foregoing extracts the disposition of the slaveholders of South Carolina. " Texas, or disunion !" was the cry. The slave power had, by the foul deed



of murder, got control of the National Government ; a slaveholding President ; a slaveholding Cabinet, except one. It only remained for South Carolina, by threats of disunion, to control Congress. Thus the bill to annex Texas to the Union, while she was still at war with Mexico, was forced upon Congress by the slave power. The bill passed the House by 23 majority, but would have been defeated in the Senate if it had not been for the treachery of Calhoun and John Tyler. Five votes were secured by fraud.

Thus speaks Mr. Benton, (who was himself in favor of annexation, but not by fraud :) “ He, the then Secretary of State, the present Senator from South Carolina, to whom I address myself, did it on Sunday, the second day of March ; that day which preceded the last day of his authority ; and on that day, sacred to peace, the Council sat that acted on the resolution ; and in the darkness of a night howling with storm and battling with the elements, as if heaven frowned on the audacious act, the fatal messenger was sent off who carried the selected resolutions to Texas. The exit of the Secretary from office, and the start of the messenger from Washington should be remembered together.”

Texas was admitted, and all the consequences of admission were incurred : *war—the state of war—was established*. With force did Benton remark, “ As Helen was the cause of the Trojan, and Antony the cause of the Roman civil war, and Lord North made the war of the Revolution, just so certainly is John C. Calhoun the author of the present war between the United States and Mexico.”

What could be expected of an Administration that secured its power by foul treachery and secret murder. Tyler betrays the party who elected him. Having dyed his hands in innocent blood, he could not bear the company of the dead man’s friends ; even the principles that his victim had labored so many long years to carry out, he threw aside and trampled with disdain under his unholy and blood-stained feet. The annals of the world might be searched in vain for such a villain. The man on whose popularity he had been exalted

to high position, he reached up to, and stabbed. Well might Henry Clay say, speaking of Tyler: "That he contemplated the death of General Harrison with mingled emotions of grief, of patriotism, and *gratitude*—above all, of *gratitude*!"

He betrayed his party and country, and at last human nature—by practising a cheat on a mighty nation, bringing on a useless and bloody war, for the sole and only purpose of extending human slavery.

War existed between the United States and Mexico, brought about by the foul administration of John Tyler, in annexing Texas. Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen, in favor of a protective Tariff, were the Whig candidates; and James K. Polk and George M. Dallas were the Democratic, and successful candidates. They went in favor of the annexation of Texas, and received 170 electoral votes, while Mr. Clay got 105. Eight slave States gave their electoral votes to Polk, and five in favor of Mr. Clay.

James K. Polk, the newly elected President, came to Washington and took his seat on the 4th of March, 1845. The chief business of his administration was to recognize the war, and prosecute it with vigor to a successful termination. Although originating and existing in the preceding administration, it was not declared by act of Congress until the 13th of May, 1846. And it was not until the beginning of February, 1848, that it was brought to a close.

The terms of the treaty of peace, as made by Mr. Trist, the plenipotentiary of the United States, with the Mexican Government, included New Mexico and Upper California, with the Lower Rio Grande, from its mouth to El Paso, taken as the boundary of Texas. *These were the acquisitions*, for which the United States agreed to pay to Mexico fifteen millions of dollars, in five instalments, annually after the first. The claims of American citizens against Mexico were to be assumed by the United States, limited to three and a quarter millions of dollars.\* Thus terminated the war with Mexico,

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\* The use of this money laid the foundation of the once vast fortune of Corcoran, the well-known banker, traitor, and fugitive.



the great outlay of treasure by the General Government, with the immense loss of life, including many of its best citizens.

Eighteen millions and a quarter was no small sum. Jefferson only paid fifteen millions for Louisiana; and all the foregoing territory could have been acquired from Mexico in treating her respectfully for boundaries for even less than fifteen millions. Add to that the expense of a two year's war, and altogether it amounts to over \$200,000,000.

Thus ended the annexation scheme. As it was hatched to get more slave territory, commenced by individual assassination, and ending in war, it was pursued from the beginning with a villainy which crime alone can excite.

We must now take a view of the situation of parties. The slave and free States were now equal in number, and it was impossible to get one lone State admitted, as that would give a majority to one or other of the parties; but by coupling two together, which had previously been done with *Arkansas* and *Michigan*, when one was *slave* and the other *free*, they went in with a "rush." This worked so well before, that it was thought that, like bears in couples agree, Florida and Iowa would make a good pair, since they represented the two great principles of state. If they had been both black, or unfortunately both white, all would have been in vain. But when there was one of each color, they were admitted out of kindness, as lovers together. By this double process it kept the slave and free States always equal in number: but the annexation of Texas had brought in a large amount of new territory. The slave power now began to get uneasy, fearing, legislatively, that it would not be able to run slavery into it. It was *power* that was needed. Like the bachelor who married a widow who had already buried five husbands, when they were about to retire to bed the first night, Mr. Shuttlecock (for that was his name) remarked, "My dear, I have always made it a rule in life, just before retiring to bed, to return thanks to the Giver of all good." "Oh! how delighted I am," says his new wife, "it puts me so much in

mind of my first love ; Mr. Rogers, my first husband, always did this." Both kneeling by the bedside, Mr. Shuttlecock commenced, " O, Lord, I adore thee to-night in a new capacity ; I need now thine assistance more than ever before ; *please guide and direct—*" " Stop, stop ! my dear," cries his experienced bride, tapping him on the shoulder, "*I can do that ; pray for strength ; strength is what you need most.*" It was strength, although of a different kind, that the slave power wanted.

The question with Calhoun was, where to get power to put slavery into the new territories. It was claimed that they were free under Mexico, and came into the Federal Government free. But Calhoun, needing strength, claimed that the American Constitution overrode and annulled all laws of Mexico inconsistent with it. " Grant that," said his opponents, " but where is the authority in the Federal Constitution to carry slavery anywhere ?"

Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, now stepped in and introduced what has since gone by the name of the Wilmot Proviso : "*That no part of the territory to be acquired should be open to the introduction of slavery.*"

Thus commenced the agitation, on the power of Congress to legislate about slavery. It was claimed that slavery had rights above Congress, and above the Federal Constitution also. The excitement on this vexed question began to spread, and the slave power again began to rally its forces. The term of President Polk was about drawing to a close, and it was doubtful whether slavery could be carried into New Mexico or California. The Southern members began to hold nightly meetings in Washington, the result of which was a kind of Southern declaration of independence, setting forth that " Their grievances were greater against the United States Government than our ancestors' were against Great Britain." It was not only claimed, in this new declaration of independence, that slavery was to be prohibited in part of the newly acquired territory, but it was boldly set forth that the General Government was going to abolish slavery in all the



States, and bring on a conflict between the blacks and whites of the South, which might result in the whites becoming slaves.

This declaration was signed by forty Southern members of Congress; and, to cap the climax, Mississippi and South Carolina (the only two States that have more slaves than white inhabitants) passed acts in their General Assemblies calling for a Southern Convention to arrange a new government, to be called the *United States South*.

The presidential election now began to take up the attention of all. The Democratic party had nominated, at Baltimore, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President, and Wm. O. Butler, of Kentucky, as Vice President. This was in May, 1848. Yancey, of Alabama, endeavored to introduce into the Democratic creed: "That the doctrine of non-intervention with the rights of property of any portion of this Confederation, be it in States or Territories, by any others than the parties interested in them, is the true republican doctrine recognized by this party. Rejected; 246 against, 36 for. This makes Yancey the real author of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty.

In June the Whig Convention met in Philadelphia, and nominated Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, for President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for Vice President. Taylor had the military prestige of Buena Vista, Monterey, Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, which proved too heavy metal for the Democratic candidate.

Martin Van Buren, who had been called *the* Northern man with Southern principles, now accepted the nomination of a third party as a candidate for the Presidency, with Charles Francis Adams as Vice President. The principles of this party were, that the General Government should abolish slavery where it had the power, prohibit its extension, and let it alone in the States where it existed; thus the term *Free Soilers*. The election over, it soon became known that Taylor had carried seven free and eight slave States—163 electoral votes. Cass carried eight free and seven slave States—127 electoral votes. Van Buren and his party got none.

President Polk's administration, ended with a new threat to dissolve the Union, the old Bug-a-boo of the slave power. After getting Texas, they now wished to dissolve Polk, like Jackson, loved the Union, and never countenanced anything in his administration that threatened its overthrow. He was exemplary in private life, and in public, only aimed at the good of his country.

At every Presidential election the contest with the slave power became more bitter. Like the miser, its greed increased with its gain; getting much, it demanded more. Eight years before, it had dyed its hands in the blood of the lamented Harrison, and saturated its garments on the gory fields of Buena Vista, Palo Alto and Monterey. *Resting yet restless* through President Polk's administration, it now reappears with all its accumulated pomp, and like the Roman oxen, ribboned and garlanded for the sacrifice.

President Taylor surveyed the situation, and suggested proper remedies to defeat the blood-thirsty foe of the Federal Union. About his first official act was to suppress the Cuban invasion, a darling scheme of the slaveholders to secure that Island at the hazard of a war with Spain. After President Taylor had written his first and only annual message, Calhoun, mortified at the defeat of the Cuban expedition, made a visit to the Department of State, and requested the President to say nothing in his forthcoming message about the Union. But this bad man had little influence over old "Rough and Ready," for after his visit the following remarkable passage was added: "But attachment to the Union of the States should be habitually fostered in every American heart. For more than half a century, during which kingdoms and empires have fallen, this Union has stood unshaken. The patriots who formed it have long since descended to the grave, yet still it remains, the proudest monument of their memory, and the object of affection and admiration of every one worthy to bear the American name. In my judgment its dissolution would be the greatest of calamities; and to avert that should be the steady aim of every American. Upon its preserva-



tion must depend our own happiness, and that of countless generations to come. Whatever dangers may threaten it, *I shall stand by it*, and maintain it in its integrity to the full extent of the obligations imposed, and power conferred, upon me by the Constitution."

The slave power had now determined to prevent the admission of California into the Union as a State. It had the requisite population, and had formed a Constitution forbidding slavery; and President Taylor, in his message, recommended that it be admitted. Utah and New Mexico he recommended, without mixing the slavery question with their territorial governments, to be left to ripen into States, and then settle that question for themselves in their State Constitutions.

The slave power had put a scheme on foot in Texas, by which that State claimed half of New Mexico, a province settled two hundred years before Texan independence. It wanted to settle this boundary by force of arms from Texas. But here the President was determined that the political and judicial authority of the United States should settle the boundary.

The wrath of the slave holders now increased against him. Having before defeated their filibustering scheme against Cuba, recommending the admission of California with a Constitution prohibiting slavery, and advising the dropping of the slavery question concerning New Mexico and Utah, and refusing to recognize the forged claims of the Texan slave holders to half of New Mexico; and to the foregoing his pitting himself against Calhoun, in adding to his Message the above extract, after the arch-traitor had requested that all mention of the Union should be excluded from it, the slave power had now sufficient reason to count him as an enemy, and his history gave them to understand that he *never surrendered*. Those having slavery politically committed to their care, had long before sworn that no person should ever occupy the Presidential Chair that opposed their schemes in the interest of slavery. *They resolved to take his life.*

To show the bitterness of the slave power, we make an extract from Calhoun's speech, delivered after his visit to Presi-

dent Taylor, and after the Annual Message of the latter appeared : " It (the Union) can not then be saved by eulogies on it. However splendid or numerous the cry of Union, Union, the glorious Union, it can no more prevent disunion than the cry of Health, health, glorious health, on the part of the physician, can save a patient from dying, who is lying dangerously ill."

It was generally understood at Washington that the free soil wing of the Whig Party had the ear of President Taylor, and that Millard Fillmore had but little voice or influence. —*See Ormsby's History of the Whig Party, pp. 312.*

This the slave power understood, and they determined to serve him as they had previously served General Harrison ; and only awaited a favorable opportunity to carry out their hellish intent. The celebration of the 4th of July was near at hand ; and it was resolved to take advantage of that day, and give him the fatal drug. Being well planned, he received it at the right time, and with the same medical accuracy as did Gen. Harrison.

The political magazine was purposely charged with the restless element of slavery. This was done to prepare a way for the President's death, that it might pass unnoticed in the midst of the general explosion. Notwithstanding the threatening of the slave power, the correspondent of the New York Evening Post telegraphed from Washington, July 3d, 1850, that " the President remains firmly determined to defend the possession of the United States Government to that territory at all hazards." But the last charge was placed in the magazine when Ex-Governor Quitman, of Mississippi, telegraphed to Washington, on the same day, (3d) that he was ready, at the head of 10,000 men, to march on Santa Fe, New Mexico." This was all done to force President Taylor to submit to demands of the slave power. *It failed ;* but it placed the torch to the fuse, and amid the excitement of the 4th of July, the explosion took place. It accomplished the object — *victory and revenge through the death of the President.*

The New York Post of the 10th, says : " In the contention which has raged at the seat of Government, the stroke of



death has fallen upon one to whom his station assigned no small part of the controversy—the Chief Magistrate of the country, Gen. Taylor.” He would undoubtedly have checked, by the most effectual means, any effort on the part of Texas to engage in a civil war with the people of New Mexico. The Post further says: “It strikes us that it is by no means a fortunate circumstance for the cause of freedom.”

In the enjoyment of the most perfect health, the 4th being on Friday, he was taken sick in the afternoon about 5 o'clock, and on Monday evening at 35 minutes past 10 o'clock, he was dead. He died from the effects of the same kind of drug as was given to President Harrison. The symptoms in both cases were the same—an inward heat and thirst, accompanied by fever. They were both well and hearty at the time the drug was given, and both died within a few days after taking it. Mr. Benton, speaking of the occurrence, says that “he sat out all the speeches, and omitted no attention which he believed the decorum of his station required. The ceremony took place on Friday, and on Tuesday following he was a corpse. *The violent attack commenced soon after his return to the Presidential Mansion.*”—Page 763, Vol. II.

Gen. Taylor's case being considered by his physicians, (a portion of them having likewise attended General Harrison,) called it “billious cholera,” in other words, gastro-enteritis. No doubt produced, as Dr. Taylor on poisons, page 123, says, by “instant poisons.” The whole of the circumstances in this case prove conclusively that he had been poisoned. He lived, as before stated, about the same length of time from the date of receiving the fatal drug which caused his death, as did General Harrison. The authority I have quoted in Gen. Harrison's case, is applicable in that of Gen. Taylor's. Well may it be supposed that the assassin who had so managed the poison in General Harrison's case, knew well how to apply it to Gen. Taylor with equal success. See Grant's Letter.

As President Harrison had been assassinated in about one month after taking his seat, it was not considered prudent to immediately dispatch President Taylor. Therefore, for the

sake of policy, he was borne with for one year and four months. He was in favor of the good old Union, and was in a position to protect it if assailed. They knew he was a soldier that never surrendered. Patriotic, almost to devotion, and too much of a statesman to see his country divided by intrigue, although himself owning slaves, still like Washington he was opposed to slavery extension, and would have rejoiced to have seen some plan devised by which it could be abolished. They slew him on Independence Day, while pouring out his soul in devotion to his country.

“With increased lustre on the march of time,  
Forever may his star of glory shine.”

Millard Fillmore now became President. This individual has always been in favor of granting everything to slavery. Taylor, while alive, discerning his truckling disposition, gave him the cold shoulder. Thus, when Fillmore came into power, he discharged every Cabinet Officer that had served under President Taylor, and gathered around him new associates—men principally of *the hush-up policy, who wanted peace in their day.*

It was left for Fillmore to sign the act admitting California, President Taylor having been assassinated before the bill passed Congress. After it had passed, ten Southern Senators offered a protest. Of course their protest amounted to a burlesque. The yeas in the Senate was 34; nays, only 18.

William M. Guyn, and John C. Fremont, were now admitted as Senators from the new State, and thus ended the struggle with the slave power for the admission of California.

Calhoun's last speech was devoted chiefly to that subject. It was read by James M. Mason of Virginia, on the 4th of March, 1850. Calhoun was then sick and unable even to read it. This speech surpassed all that he had before delivered in bitterness against the Union. After asserting that all the principal cords that bound it together had been snapped asunder, and nothing now remained to hold it together except force.



The next move to appease the slave power was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. The records and acts of the General Government, from its earliest organization, were scrutinized for authority to fall back on as a basis. This was one of the measures of Mr. Clay's Compromise, which had to have a separate hearing, as he was unable to get all included in one bill. The vote on its passage in the Senate was, yeas 27, nays 12. About twenty Senators did not vote either way, and were mostly against its passage. Butler, of South Carolina, was the father of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and Mason, of Virginia, was its step daddy.

President Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Bill, and has received the censure of a great portion of the Northern people for so doing. Whether he received sufficient intimation, after signing the bill admitting California, to intimidate him, we are not prepared to say. He is yet living, and perhaps can give an answer. One thing is certain, it has served as his political grave. It is not probable that twenty negroes were ever reclaimed under the action of the law. It was got up solely as a gag to the free States. "*That, or break up the Union !*" was the cry.

The time of another presidential election was approaching, and the flames of revolt were bursting out all over the South. In every quarter disunion meetings were being held, and treasonable toasts being drunk. Many and very violent speeches were made in the South Carolina Legislature.

One remarked: "We must secede . . . . If we can get but one State to unite with us, we must act. Once being independent, we would have a strong ally in England ; but we must prepare for secession."

Another said, "He hated and detested the Union, and was in favor of cutting the connection." He avowed himself a disunionist—a disunionist *per se*. If he had the power he would crush the Union to-morrow.

In the Nashville Convention, one member remarked: "Secession, united secession of the *slaveholding* States, or a large number of them ; nothing else will be wise, nothing else will be practicable. The Rubicon is passed ; the Union is already dissolved." Further: "Should we be wise enough to unite,

all California, with her exhaustless treasures, would be ours ; all New Mexico also."

The following was given as a Fourth of July toast : " The American Eagle :—in the event of a dissolution of the Union, the South claims as her portion the heart of the noble bird ; to the Yankees we leave the feathers and carcass."

One toast given at a meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, reads : " *The Union, founded by ignorance, and continued only by knavery.*"

Another Fourth of July toast was : " *The Union,—a splendid failure of the first modern attempt by people of different institutions to live under the same Government.*"

The administration of Millard Fillmore had become very unpopular with those who placed him in power. If Taylor had been permitted to live, and go through his term with the same determination as he commenced, the Whig party would have become strong and popular in the free States. But Fillmore's course resulted in the entire annihilation of the party which elected him.

During the term for which Zachary Taylor was elected, and Millard Fillmore served, three Senators of high influence in their party went to their final account. John C. Calhoun died on the last day of March, 1850. Henry Clay died in June of 1852. Daniel Webster, who was Secretary of State to Fillmore, died in October, 1852. Neither of the above lived to witness another Presidential election. Calhoun lived to hear the efforts of his two powerful opponents, Webster and Clay, in reply to his, read by Mason, on the 4th of March.

The campaign of 1852, wherein Winfield Scott, as President, and Wm. A. Graham, as Vice President, were the candidates, was peculiar. Fillmore, by his *conservatism*, which amounted to *submission*, had completely disgusted the Free-soil element. It was generally understood that Scott and Graham were under the control of the views of this party. The compromise measures brought about by Mr. Clay in the latter part of his life, were approved by both the Whig and Democratic platforms. Many of Scott's friends said they ac-



cepted his nomination, but "spit upon the platform." The conservative or submission wing of the party were opposed to what they regarded as sectional issues.

Franklin Pierce for President, and Wm. R. King for Vice President, were the Democratic nominees.

The platforms of the two parties were nearly the same, and the conservative or submissive wing of the Whig party left Scott and Graham to be supported by the Free-soil element, and went over in mass to the support of Pierce and King, the Democratic nominees.

The reasons for nominating Scott were his alledged *availability* and *reliability*. The platform represented all, and yet it poorly represented any of the party; it embraced too much for some, and too little for others. With the Democrats, their platform was everything—the candidates nothing. Pierce was unknown and untried; like John Tyler he might betray the party, but they "went it blind." Election over, Pierce got 254 electoral votes, carrying twenty-seven States, while Scott got only 42 electoral votes, securing only four States.

The anti-slavery party first appeared with James G. Birney as its presidential candidate in 1840. It polled at this election 7,000 votes. In 1844, under the same leader, it polled 62,140 votes. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and Territories, was the demand of the party in both the above canvasses. In the contest of 1848 the vote of Van Buren and Gerrit Smith together was 296,232, and that of John P. Hale, in 1852, was 157,296. This party did not carry a single State at any of the four presidential elections. Their newspapers and public speakers charged the Democratic and Whig parties with diverting the National Government from the path originally designed by its founders into by-ways and hedges, for the exclusive interest of slavery. They referred to the proviso of Thomas Jefferson to prohibit the existence of slavery, after the year 1800, in all the Territories of the United States, Southern and Northern; and they also referred to the Congress of 1784, when six States and sixteen delegates voted for that proviso, while only three States and

seven delegates voted against it. These charges concerning the Whig and Democratic party were only partially historically correct, but were prophecies of a coming time, true as any ever uttered by Isaiah or Jeremiah, and were exactly and literally fulfilled by the *Man of Sin*, Franklin Pierce, and his unfortunate administration.

USURPING EXCLUSIVE CONTROL OF THE FEDERAL TERRITORY, AND  
FORCING SLAVERY INTO KANSAS.

The South have always claimed that the Federal Constitution recognized slavery; and that the slaveholders had the undisputed right to remove with their slaves into any of the Territories belonging to the General Government, and it was bound to protect them. The passage of the Missouri Compromise Act, which excluded slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min., they viewed as a concession (unconstitutional) on their part to preserve the peace of the country. Mr. Douglas placed his authority for disturbing that Compromise, on its being superseded by the Compromise of Mr. Clay, in 1850, which reads :

“*Resolved*, That as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any territory acquired by the United States from Mexico, it is inexpedient for Congress to provide by law either for its introduction or exclusion from any part of said territory; and that appropriate territorial governments ought to be established by Congress . . . . . without the adoption of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery.”

The following is the clause in the Nebraska and Kansas bill, introduced by Mr. Douglas, which repealed the Missouri Compromise: “Which being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof



perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

Many Senators spoke against it. On the 3d of March a long debate ensued; Mr. Douglas speaking in favor of the bill until half past three in the morning. Samuel Houston, of Texas, the *only Southern Senator* who opposed its passage, continued speaking until near five o'clock in the morning of the 4th March, 1854, when the bill was pressed to a vote in the Senate and passed—yeas 37, nays 14.

The bill amended, passed the House of Representatives May 22d, 1854—yeas 113, nays 100; only six members from slave States voting against it—Benton, of Missouri, Brigg, Collom, Etheridge and Nathaniel G. Taylor, all of Tennessee, and Millson of Va. The vote on the final passage of the Senate bill, as amended by the House, was—yeas 35, nays 13.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a great triumph of the slave power. It was a virtual denial that Congress had any power over slavery in the Territories, either to legislate it into, or prohibit it from entering therein.

In a speech in the Senate of the United States, in 1853, Atchison, of Missouri, remarked: "I have always been of the opinion that the first great error committed in the political history of this country was the Ordinance of 1787, rendering the Northwestern Territories free territory; the next great error was the adoption of the Missouri Compromise."

Now the Ordinance of 1787 passed Congress July 13, 1787, just two months and four days before the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It was ceding the Territories belonging to several of the States to the General Government. It commences as follows:

"It is hereby ordained and declared by authority (of Congress) that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in said territory, and forever remain unaltered, unless by common consent.

"ARTICLE VI.—There shall be neither slavery nor involun-

tary servitude in said territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

The last part of the above article was dictated by the same interest and influence that two months afterwards engrafted into the Constitution of the United States the last clause of Section 2d, Article 4th.

While this act made free the Northwest Territory, it also established the basis for the Fugitive Slave Act.

Congress then had exercised the power to legislate concerning slavery in the territories; first, the Ordinance of 1787; second, the Missouri Compromise, of 1820.

The slave interest never acquiesced in either of these measures. They claimed that slavery was above *compromise*, *Congress*, and the *Constitution*; no compromise could restrict it; no Congress could prohibit it from extending into the Territories; and the Constitution guarded and recognized it, while the Supreme Court, as property, protected it. This was the sentiment of the slavery propagandists; while those wishing to restrict its extension in later years pointed to 1787 and 1820, as precedents which sustained their position. If Congress could make free the Northwest Territory, and prohibit slavery above 36 deg. 30 min., why could it not prohibit it from entering any Federal Territory?

The controversy on this question was always exciting Congress, and through Congress the country. Mr. Clay designed his Compromise of 1850 to quiet the agitation. Mr. Douglas, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, thought, by removing the question from Congress, the people in the territories might peaceably settle it at their own time and in their own way. But in this (though meaning well) they both were mistaken. The old Harlequin, fresh from his conflicts against the Union in Congress, with mischief in his head, honey on his



tongue, treason in his heart, and lust in his eye, seeks out Kansas, which had been kept pure by the Missouri Compromise for forty years. After being kicked out of Congress on the 22d of May, 1854, notwithstanding that entire country was north of 36 deg. 30 min., in defiance of his sacred obligations with the Federal Government in 1820, he now enters that peaceful Territory, with all his accustomed pomp and show of authority, and commits a political rape on its virgin soil.

The slaveholders not only in Missouri, but in other slave States, took Mr. Clay's and Mr. Douglas's view of the subject, and as early as 1851 commenced to emigrate to that region. In 1854, the excitement in Missouri was intense, determined to make Kansas a slave State.

John Scott's affidavit, page 898, Kansas Committee Report, shows that secret societies were then in existence, to force slavery into Kansas. This was a year before any person entered the Territory through the influence of the New England Aid Society. See the affidavit of Matthew R. Walker, page 898 ; also, that of H. Rolinson, page 900, which prove that no persons were sent out through that association, until the last of March, 1855.

Governor Andrew H. Reeder of Easton, Pa., and other officers appointed by *President Jefferson Davis Pierce* on the 1st of July, arrived in that Territory on the 7th day of October, 1854. Yet, long before this arrival, the slaveholders had everything ready. Secret Societies were every where organized in Missouri and Kansas, under the names of "*Social Bond*," "*Blue Lodge*," "*Friends Society*," and "*Friends of the South*." These societies were all got up to drive Free State Men out of the Territory, and to make Kansas a slave State. So completely were the pro-slavery agitators organized, that in the month following the Governor's arrival, November 29, 1854, Samuel Woodson, a lawyer of Independence, Missouri, appeared at the territorial polls at Douglas, for the election of a delegate to Congress, with 200 Missourians to vote. Out of 261 votes cast, only 85 were given by actual settlers.

*4th District.*—Dr. Chapman's Missourians, from Cass and

Jackson Counties, numbering 140 men, camped out all night ; they said they came to vote to make Kansas a slave State. Out of 161 votes, only 30 were legal.

*5th District.*—Sixty-two Missourians went into this district by the Santa Fé road, and out of 82 votes cast, only 20 were given by residents of Kansas. They also said they came to vote Kansas a slave State.

*6th District.*—Out of 105 votes cast, 80 were from Missouri.

*7th District.*—Election was held at Frey McGee's, called 110. The number of voters residing in this district did not exceed 40, only 20 of whom voted ; yet 604 votes were polled, 584 of which were from Missouri. Here the Missourians voted for absent friends, whom they said instructed them to vote for them, as they could not attend.

*11th District.*—Polled 255, of which 238 were illegal.

*15th District.*—Polled 312 votes. The Missourians from Clay, Ray, and Platt Counties, came, they said, to make Kansas a slave State. One hundred and sixty illegal votes were cast in this district. At this election, Nov. 29, 1854, 1,729 illegal votes were cast, to make Kansas a slave State.

The residents of the Territory were completely overawed, and took very little interest in the election. In fact, not more than one-half of them went to the polls. Gen. Whitfield, the candidate of the pro-slavery mob, was elected. He received 2,298 votes. Wakefield received 248, and Flenniken 305. Thus Whitfield secured his election as a delegate to Congress, for the Territory of Kansas.

All this rascality was practised before the New England Aid Society was in existence, it being organized only the 21st of February, 1855.

In January and February Gov. Reeder authorized the enumeration of the entire population to be taken ; it showed 5,128 males, 3,383 females, 2,905 voters, 3,469 minors, 7,161 natives of the United States, 408 foreign birth, 151 free negroes, and 192 slaves—making a total of 8,601.

The Governor now issued a proclamation for an election for members of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory,



to be held on the 30th of March, 1855. Thirteen Members of the Council and twenty-six Representatives were to be elected. The high-handed rascality previously practised was known to have been sanctioned at Washington, which gave additional license for its repetition at this election on a large scale. From Andrew County, in the north, to Jasper county, in the south, and as far east as Cole County, Missouri, men were organized into parties, and sent into every council district in the Territory, and into every representative district but one, to vote—4,908 thus went to vote at this March election ; they went armed and equipped. S. Young and C. F. Jackson had command of a portion ; they had guns, rifles, pistols, bowie knives, and two pieces of artillery loaded with musket balls. This party camped near Lawrence, about one thousand strong. In the evening preceding the election these ruffians held a meeting at the camp, and sent about two hundred of their party into adjoining districts to vote. Those remaining to vote at Lawrence had white ribbons in their coats to distinguish them from the settlers—1,034 votes were cast, over 800 of which were illegal. In the eighteen districts the number of votes cast at this (30th of March, 1855) election was 6,307 ; total legal vote cast, 1,410 ; illegal vote, 4,908. The free State vote was 791. Hundreds of free State men were driven from the polls, yet the free State party had a majority of 172 above all the legal votes cast in the Territory.

The members thus elected held caucus meetings, during the coming in of the returns, at Westport and Shawnee Mission, and many of them secretly and openly declared that if Governor Reeder did not publicly acknowledge the legality of their election they would take his life.

The Governor says : “ I made arrangements to assemble a small number of friends for defence, and on the morning of the 6th of April I proceeded to announce my decision upon the returns. Upon one side of the room were arrayed the members elect, nearly, if not quite, all armed ; and on the other side about fourteen of my friends, who, with myself, were also armed.”

The bogus Missouri Legislature, that this same force had indirectly brought into existence, met at Pawnee, July 2d, 1855. The Council was composed of 18 members, 15 of whom were from the slave States, 1 from Ohio, 1 from Indiana, and 1 from New York.

The House of Representatives had 35 members, 29 of whom were natives of slave States, 1 of Kansas Territory, 2 of Ohio, 2 of Pennsylvania, 1 of New York, cursing negro-stealers, and swearing that slavery shall be upheld, and that the virgin soil of Kansas shall never be polluted with the foul stain of Free-soil-ism ; the Union only when it protects slavery. Every member of the House was pro-slavery except S. D. Hunter, a native of Ohio, and he resigned. Against this worse than rascality, the free States turned their backs.

The house in which they met had neither doors nor windows, and but a temporary floor. While engaged in this high-handed atrocity, that dreadful scourge, the Asiatic cholera, broke out amongst them. To avoid the wrath which high Heaven was pouring on their guilty heads, they fled to Shawnee Mission. Here the Governor refused to recognize them, except by vetoing the tyrannical acts they were passing. Mortified at such proceedings, he came out against them, and was the author of a set of resolutions passed at Big Springs, the first of which was :

*“Resolved, That we owe no allegiance or obedience to the tyrannical enactments of the spurious Legislature ; that their laws have no validity or binding force upon the people of Kansas.”*

Gov. Reeder arrived in Washington in the beginning of May, 1855. He had previously written several confidential letters to the President, giving a detailed history of events. Pierce expressed himself, at the first interview, as highly pleased and satisfied with the Governor's course, and, says Reeder, “in the most unequivocal language approved and endorsed all I had done.”

But Jeff. Davis demanded Reeder's removal. This placed the President in a new position, and he therefore immediately



went to work to induce Reeder to resign. "At the next interview he expressed great fear," says Reeder, "for my personal safety if I returned to the Territory, and offered to appoint me Minister to China, alleging that McLane, then Minister, was about to return home." To this new proposition the Governor remarked, that if he could be satisfied that the people of Kansas would be as fully cared for as if he remained in office, and a successor was appointed who would resist the aggressive invasion from Missouri, he was willing to coincide.

Pierce assured him that he would appoint some honorable, upright, Northern man, who was above intimidation and corruption, and one that would faithfully perform his duty. At this interview he requested Pierce to issue a proclamation reciting what had been done in Kansas, and strongly disapproving it, and pledging his administration against foreign interference with Kansas affairs. Pierce now began to talk about Kansas Emigrant Aid Societies, and *Reeder began to suspect*. At the next interview the Governor said to the President: "It is evident that you are about to make concessions in the wrong direction. I have had a great opportunity to ascertain the facts, and I consider this a clear case of aggression on Northern rights, and whatever of concession or compensation is to be made should be to the North, and not to the South; the interests (continued the Governor) of the Democratic party and the principles of truth and justice loudly require it."

Pierce, fearing to dismiss Reeder, offers a bribe. "If (says the incorruptible Jefferson Davis Pierce) the vacation of your office could be satisfactorily adjusted, all matters could be arranged in such a way as to promote your *personal interests*."

The Governor considered himself insulted, and refused to reply, and also refused to resign, and left the room. Pierce waited until the last of July and then removed him. Reeder received his notice to quit on the 15th of August, 1855. Thus ended the administration of the first Territorial Governor of Kansas. He was appointed by the administration as a friend

of slavery. He said himself that he was always in favor of granting the compromises which had satisfied the South, and secured their rights against the clamors of anti-slavery men. —*Page 943, Kansas Reports.*

The animal in Kansas he was unable to tame,  
Although concession to slavery was his political game.  
The abolition clamor he had always despised,  
But his experience as Governor wide opened his eyes.

Wilson Shannon now received the appointment from the President to take the place of Gov. Reeder. Mr. Shannon went out from the bosom of the pro-slavery administration at Washington with decisive instructions. He proceeded to Shawnee Mission, and in a loyal epistle to the President, dated Nov. 28, 1855, calls the pro-slavery agitators the "Law and order party." The Free State Men, he termed violent "Abolitionists." Notwithstanding the Governor well knew that in April of that year Malcomb Clark, a rigid pro-slavery man had commenced a deadly assault on Cole McCrea, at a meeting at Leavenworth. And it was also known to him how Mr. Phillips, a lawyer of the same place, had been violently seized and taken across the river into Missouri, tarred and feathered, and rode on a rail, and his head shaved on one side ; after which they went through the mockery of selling him at auction, compelling a negro to act as auctioneer. He also knew that R. R. Rees, and other members of the bogus Kansas Legislature, publicly encouraged and justified these lawless outrages. He also knew that officers holding high position, such as Judge Lecompt, Associate Judge, S. G. Cato, and J. M. Burnell, Judge Wood, of the Police Court of Douglas County, and S. J. Jones, Sheriff of the same County, with Marshal Donaldson, had organized themselves and friends, to the number of 30, into a Vigilance Committee. He knew that in their official capacity they winked at gambling, for it was a favorite amusement to join Sheriff Jones in a game of poker at 10 cent ante.

About this time, 1855, John Brown, of Harper's Ferry no-



tority, emigrated to Kansas, and settled in Osage County. He was an Abolitionist, and soon became the object of the most violent assaults from the Missourians. One of his sons, Frederick,\* was met by a party of these invading ruffians, alone in the road, and murdered in cold blood. His body was stripped of its raiment, and his *privates cut off and stuck in his mouth*. John, another son, for being an Abolitionist, was caught, loaded with chains, and driven on foot before the horses of his captors, from Ossawatimie to Tecumseh. The cruelty was such that his reason was destroyed. The house of the old man, as well as that of his son, was set on fire and destroyed. The female portion of his family were grossly insulted, and attempts made to ravish them. Brown was now ordered to leave the Territory in three days, or submit to be hung. The five men who thus warned him, did not survive many hours. The only reply Brown made, was, "*you will not find me here then, gentlemen!*" Before the next sun rose, they were in eternity. If he had not killed them, they certainly would have hung him.

Brown's fame as a warrior now began to spread; and H. Clay Pate, with a party of thirty-three, started from Westport, Missouri, to capture the old man. Brown heard of his coming, and with a party of sixteen men met Pate at Black Jack, near the Santa Fé road. After a short fight, a few being killed, the gallant Pate surrendered. Coleman, the murderer of Dow, was with Pate, but he was well mounted, and, with a Wyandot Indian named Long, made his escape.

At another time Whitfield raised in Jackson county, Missouri, two hundred and twenty men to capture Brown. The old man heard of the move, and gathered up one hundred and sixty men, and took up a position on the Santa Fé road, where he knew Whitfield would have to pass. Fifty of his men had Sharp's rifles, which would kill at half a mile. The rest of his party he had concealed in the timber to make the

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\* Rev. Martin White, Methodist preacher of the South Church, boasted in the bogus Kansas Legislature in 1856, that he killed Fred. Brown, and *thanked God for it*. The last words were applauded by the members.—*Lawrence Herald of Freedom*.

attack on the flank. Colonel Sumner, of Fort Leavenworth, heard of the expected battle, and came with a squad of dragoons, and dispersed both parties. Sumner remarked that it was fortunate for the Missourians that he had arrived, for Brown was so fixed that he would have killed and captured the entire party.

In 1856 John Reid, a lawyer of Jackson county, and member of the Missouri Legislature, raised three hundred men, and two pieces of artillery, and marched on Ossawatimie. Brown this time was taken by surprise; he gathered his forces, and had barely time to get into the timber which lines the Osage river with only thirty men and a limited supply of ammunition. The enemy soon came in full view. Brown, although they were ten to one against him, commenced the fight. Reid, not knowing his numbers, and fearing an ambuscade, would not venture into the woods, and his artillery did but little harm, as Brown's men lay flat on their faces, their guns loading at the breech. Sixty-seven of Reid's men were soon killed and wounded; only two of Brown's men were killed. He retired up the river through the timber and crossed the ford.

Gambling, theft, burglary, forgery, rape and murder, were all encouraged when committed on or against Free State Men or Abolitionists. Speaking of these times, Committee Report, page 65, says: "All the restraints which American citizens are accustomed to pay even to the appearance of law, were thrown off. Homicides became frequent. All the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, securing persons and property, were wholly disregarded. The officers of the law, instead of protecting the people, were engaged in these outrages, and in no instance did we learn that any man was arrested, indicted, or punished for any of these crimes."

Such were the men who represented the Administration of Pierce in Kansas. Reeder having repudiated them, Wilson Shannon was sent out to become their leader and confidential adviser. He assured these bad men that the administration would use, if necessary, all the Federal forces stationed in the



districts to make Kansas a slave State. Franklin M. Coleman, a resident of Hickory Point, and native of Brook Co., Virginia, had been to the Shawnee Mission to receive the appointment of Justice of the Peace. Enlivened and encouraged by the remarks of the Governor, he returned to his home, feeling strong in the pro-slavery cause, and on the 27th of November, 1855, shot and killed a peaceable and inoffensive citizen by the name of Dow, a Free State Man, native of Ohio.

Coleman went immediately to the Shawnee Mission, right into the arms of Gov. Shannon, for protection. Not finding Shannon at home, he sought out Sheriff Jones, of Douglas county, who was at or near the Mission at the time. Jones was the Sheriff of the county where the crime was committed. The Sheriff and Coleman went to Lecompton, where, without form of law, without issuing a writ, entered \$500 straw bail, and Coleman continued free. As the murder was viewed as political, the free State men threatened vengeance on those who had been instrumental in committing, or justifying the fatal crime. Instead of being punished, Coleman found the officers of the law his justifiers and protectors. This course greatly enraged the free State party. Jacob Branson, a free State resident of Hickory Point, and intimate friend of the murdered man, had, with others, been freely expressing his feelings about this high-handed outrage. One Harrison Buckley, and Josiah Hargis, both of these men were implicated with Coleman in the murder of Dow.

On the 26th of November a large meeting was held on the identical spot where Dow was killed. At this meeting resolutions were passed, one of which reads :

“*Whereas*, Charles W. Dow, a citizen of this place, was murdered on Wednesday afternoon last ; and *whereas* evidence, by admission and otherwise, fastens the guilt of said murder on one F. M. Coleman ; and *whereas* facts indicate that other parties, namely, Buckley, Hargis, Wagner, Reynolds and Moody, and others were implicated in said murder ; and *whereas* facts further indicate that said individuals and parties are

combining for the purpose of harassing and murdering un-offending citizens; and whereas we are now destitute of law, even for the punishment of crime, in this Territory :

“ *Resolved*, That a Vigilance Committee of twenty-five be appointed, whose duty it shall be to bring the above-named individuals, as well as those connected with them in this affair, to justice.”

It was at this time, when the public pulse had been greatly excited by the murder and outrage, on the very same evening of the meeting, that pro-slavery Sheriff Jones, with a posse of twenty-five ruffians, armed with a peace warrant, which had been procured for the purpose from a pro-slavery Justice, by Harrison Buckley, entered said Branson's house, breaking in the door, at the dead of night, and with deadly weapons in their hands presented and aimed at his head, commanded him to put on his clothes, or they would blow out his brains. Branson being a highly respectable citizen, with whom Mr. Dow, the murdered man, before his death had boarded, his friends met the Sheriff and his party at Bolton's Bridge. Jones, in the meantime, had told Branson that he heard there were one hundred men at his house, but was sorry when he found it untrue, for it cheated him out of his expected sport. Just when this conversation was going on, a party of about forty formed in a line across the road. Jones and his party halted and cried out, “What's up?” “That's just what we want to know; *what's up?*” was the reply. Branson said they had got him a prisoner. Some one in the rescuing party told him to come over to their side; he did so, dismounted the mule, and drove it back to Jones. Jones and his party were then permitted to go about their business. Two of the men who were implicated in Dow's murder were with Jones as aids, and it was believed that Coleman was with him also. This was the alleged cause for *Gov. Shannon's Wakarusa war*.

Sheriff Jones, immediately on his return, sent Hargis with a note to Governor Shannon, informing him of what had occurred, winding up with this: “You may consider an open



rebellion as having already commenced, and *I call upon you for three thousand men to carry out the laws.*"

[Signed]

SAMUEL J. JONES,  
*Sheriff of Douglas County.*

To His Excellency

WILSON SHANNON,

*Governor of Kansas Territory.*

Nov. 27, 1855.

Shannon immediately authorized Major General Wm. P. Richardson, of Doniphan County, to collect as large a force as he could in his division, and bring them with all speed to Lecompton. Six days after this request was made, Richardson was at Lecompton with about 2,000 men. Word was also sent to Gen. Strickler, at Tecumseh, (distant about 12 miles from Lecompton,) to gather immediately as many men as possible, and come in all haste to Lecompton. Strickler brought about 75 men. Official orders were sent to both of these Generals, dated on the same day of Jones' demand, (27th of November.) Copies of these official orders of the Governor were taken by Jones' force, and circulated in that part of Missouri bordering on Kansas. This part of the State has about 50,000 slaves. The story, as told, was that the Territorial law had been set at defiance, and Jones, the Sheriff of Douglas county, a Virginian, and a strong pro-slavery man, had been threatened with death, and no doubt ere this had been murdered by an abolition mob.

The long wished-for opportunity had now arrived (that was an excuse) to enter Kansas and, at the point of the bayonet, drive the hated free State men out of the Territory. Old age and youth began to assemble at the camp at Wakarusa. Shannon said these men came there to fight; they did not want peace; it was war to the knife; they would come, and it was impossible to prevent them. They came to serve under Sheriff Jones, and he readily enrolled them in his posse.

Generals Richardson and Strickler had under their command about 275 men. The forces thus assembled to commence the anticipated sport of murdering free State men and

abolitionists, on the 2d of December, 1855, numbered about 1,500 men, 925 of which were from Missouri. Shannon now began to understand and dread the consequences of calling together the pro-slavery mob.

General Eastin, commander of the Northern brigade, Kansas militia, had written to the Governor, dated Leavenworth, Nov. 30, 1855, that the free State men, one thousand strong, were well fortified at Lawrence, with cannon and Sharp's rifles. Eastin suggested in this letter that the Governor call out the United States troops stationed at Leavenworth. The Governor telegraphed (Dec. 1st) from Kansas City to President Pierce, and at the same time sent a message to Col. Sumner, commander of 1st cavalry, U. S. A., at Fort Leavenworth, informing him of what he had done and requesting the Colonel's co-operation. Sumner replied, (Dec. 1st, 1855,) "I do not feel that it would be right in me to act in this important matter until orders are received from the Government."

Shannon now sent a letter to Gen. Richardson, commanding the Territorial militia, informing him that he had also sent Sheriff Jones a letter stating that he was endeavoring to procure the aid of the Federal forces, and requesting that they use every effort to preserve law and order; also warning Jones that the forces under him were poorly armed, and would be ill prepared to come in contact with the free State party, who were well supplied with Sharp's rifles. Jones informs the Governor by letter, on Dec. 4th, that he has sufficient force to protect him in serving the writ, and thinks he had better not wait for the aid of the Federal forces, but to "pitch in on his own hook." He tells the Governor that the strength of the free State men has been greatly exaggerated; he has now in his hands warrants for sixteen persons who were with the party that rescued Branson. On this very day, a mob headed by Judge Thompson and Capt. Price, broke open the United States Arsenal at Liberty, Mo., and took three 6-pounders, swords, pistols, rifles and amunition.

Gen. Richardson writes to Gov. Shannon, dated Dec. 3,



that it is essential to the peace of the Territory that the free State men should surrender their Sharp's rifles, and requests the Governor to give him authority to make the demand.

About this time the Governor had received a reply from the President, stating that he would use all the power at his command to preserve order in the Territory, and to enforce execution of the laws. He immediately sent a letter to Col. Sumner; also the telegraph dispatch he had received from President Pierce; on the strength of which Sumner immediately started with his regiment (Dec. 5th) to meet the Governor at the Delaware crossing of the Kansas that evening. But the Governor did not receive Col. Sumner's dispatch until the morning of the 6th.

Messrs. Lawrence and Babcock, citizens of Lawrence, and representatives of the free State men, now waited on the Governor and informed him that an armed mob was surrounding the town, and requested him to use his authority to preserve the peace, and protect the place. The Governor calculated for the Government troops under Sumner to march into the town of Lawrence, and thus protect the place from assault by the pro-slavery mob of fifteen hundred men under Jones, Richardson and Strickler.

In the afternoon of Dec. 5th the Governor left Shawnee Mission. He went by the way of Westport, Missouri, to procure the aid of Col. Boone, a grandson of Daniel Boone. His object was to procure his influence over the pro-slavery men. They started for Lawrence; on the way they were met by a dispatch from Col. Sumner stating that on mature reflection he had concluded not to move until he had received direct orders from the Government. Boone and the Governor hurried on to the pro-slavery camp at Wakarusa, (within six miles of Lawrence.) This was under the command of Gen. Strickler. Gen. Richardson, who commanded another force of the same character at Lecompton, about 18 miles distant, had been requested by the Governor, with other leading pro-slavery men at that place, to meet him at Wakarusa. They arrived, and the Governor appointed 8 o'clock in the eve-

ning at his quarters for an interview. About forty of the leading pro-slavery men were there. They were all, except one, determined on the destruction of Lawrence, to which course the Governor was opposed. The conference broke up about midnight, having accomplished nothing. The Governor informed them that he intended on the 7th (to-morrow) to go to Lawrence, and ascertain to what terms the free State party would accede.

The Governor immediately sent an express to Col. Sumner, informing him that "it is hard to restrain the pro-slavery men from making an attack upon Lawrence; *they are beyond my power—at least soon will be.*" Col. Sumner refused, without direct orders from Washington, to participate. The pro-slavery mob did not want the United States troops to interfere, as they felt all-powerful without them. They now became clamorous, and refused to wait longer for diplomacy, threatened to take matters into their own hands and raise the black flag.

The Governor, on the 7th, entered Lawrence, and had an interview with Gen. J. H. Lane and Charles Robinson. The Governor dreading his own men, felt that moments were hours to the citizens of Lawrence. He there stated he was satisfied that he misunderstood its people and the territory, and that they were innocent, and had violated no law. Not one of the persons against whom Jones had writs, were in Lawrence, and the Governor could not persuade the citizens of Lawrence to deliver up their arms to a mob. He gave orders to Gen. Richardson to suppress any unauthorized demonstrations against Lawrence, at every hazard, informing him that the people were willing to make concessions.

A treaty was agreed on and entered into, on December 8th, 1855. The treaty sets forth "*that the rescue of Branson was without the knowledge or consent of the people of Lawrence, and denies all knowledge by the Free State Men of any organization in the Territory to resist the laws*;" and requires Gov. Shannon to use his influence to secure the people of Kansas Territory remuneration for damages suffered at the hands of Sheriff



Jones and his posse, and also affirms that Gov. Shannon never called on the people of any other State to aid in executing the laws. \ [Signed]

WILSON SHANNON,  
CHARLES ROBINSON,  
J. H. LANE.

LAWRENCE, K. T., *Dec. 8th, 1855.*

The Governor, now issued orders, December 8th, to Gen. Richardson and Strickler, and Sheriff Jones, to disband their forces, as matters had been arranged to the satisfaction of all parties. But the Governor was fearful of a refusal so to do, and on the 9th, next day, put the following authority into the hands of the Free State Men :

*"To C. Robinson and J. H. Lane, Commanders of the enrolled Citizens of Lawrence :—You are hereby authorized and directed to take such measures, and use the enrolled forces under your command in such manner, for the promotion of the peace and the protection of the people of Lawrence and its vicinity, as in your judgment will best secure that end.*

*"WILSON SHANNON.*

*"LAWRENCE, Dec. 9th, 1855."*

Major Clark, formerly an Arkansas editor, and one Colonel Burns, of Weston, Missouri, and Dr. Johnson, son of the then Governor of Virginia, on the 6th of December, 1855, while Mr. Thomas W. Barber and his brother, and brother-in-law, were peaceably going from Lawrence to their home, about nine miles distant, when about half way, they were met by a party of fifteen pro-slavery ruffians. Burns and Clark were with them, and they trotted off in advance of the crowd, and overtook Mr. Barber and his party, and commenced firing on them with their revolvers. T. W. Barber was killed ; his brother's horse was also wounded and died that evening ; fortunately he and Mr. Pierson made their escape. The Barbers were from Preble County, Ohio. Mr. Pierson was from Huntingdon County, Indiana.

These men went out from Gen. Richardson's pro-slavery camp at Lecompton in company with Judge Cato, of the Su

preme Court, Judge Wood of the Police Court of Douglas County, and others, to see Gov. Shannon at Wakarusa, all armed to the teeth.

Under such high-handed outrages, is it any wonder that Gov. Shannon had become disgusted with the pro-slavery mob, and, like Reeder, determined, if possible, to shake them off? Thus the effort of Jefferson Davis Pierce to drive out the Free State settlers in Kansas, by calling in the pro-slavery border ruffians of Missouri, under the name of Kansas Militia, resulted in failure. Pierce intended Col. Sumner to use the Federal forces against the Free State Men, and in favor of slavery, and expected him to act on telegraphic authority sent to Shannon; but this wise man refused to do so without direct instructions from the War Department, which did not arrive in time.

Pierce's message of the 4th of March, 1850, endorsing all the pro-slavery Kansas outrages, was the most untruthful public document ever issued. Simultaneous with its issue at Washington, the Free State Legislature of Kansas assembled at Topeka. Robinson, as Governor, issued a message reviewing past troubles. Notwithstanding they expected to be arrested for treason, 22 Representatives and 11 Senators were present. Although the free State men at this time controlled four-fifths of the entire population, and the Organic Act provided that the *Legislature shall be chosen from the residents of the Territory, and that those who vote for them shall be actual citizens of the same.*

The people of the Territory had nothing to do with making the laws that Gov. Shannon and the corrupt administration at Washington were endeavoring to force on them. Shannon and Pierce were compelling submission to the tyrannical acts of the pro-slavery legislature, elected by fraudulent votes from Missouri, by threatening to arrest the Governor and members of the Legislature chosen by the *bona fide* settlers according to the *requirement of the Organic Act of the Territory.*

The legislature of Kansas assembled at Topeka on the 8th of March, 1859, and elected A. H. Reeder and James H. Lane



United States Senators. All of these individuals expected to be arrested for treason, but were determined to make no resistance to the Federal officers.

Gov. Shannon at this time was boarding with Clark, the Indian agent, who had murdered Barber, the free State man, on the 6th of December, 1855.

Under Shannon's instructions, United States Marshal Donaldson and Sheriff Jones, with a very large force of border ruffians, accompanied by artillery, made an assault on the town of Lawrence. The United States forces were not permitted to move from their quarters, or take any part in the contest. Marshal Donaldson first entered the place with a posse, and arrested a number of persons for treason, and seized all the arms he could find. The inhabitants made no resistance to the United States officers. He then went through the mockery of disbanding his forces ; after which they were immediately led on by Sheriff Jones ; artillery was hauled up, and they opened with cannon on the Free State Hotel. This building was burned ; also the printing office of the Herald of Freedom, and other dwellings, were entirely destroyed by the torch and cannon in the hands of the pro-slavery mob. The loss of life by the indiscriminate firing of cannon in a populous city must have been frightful. Many of the members of the free State Legislature were arrested ; and Gov. Robinson was arrested at Lexington, Missouri, May 21, 1856.

The pro-slavery men now began to distrust Governor Shannon, and a new plan of continuing the strife was resorted to—that of making raids from Missouri, by bands of from 100 to 300 men, under different leaders, for the purpose of murdering and driving out the Free State Men. This was not done as before, under cover, but in defiance of all law. Shannon became unable to control the pro-slavery element, and in the latter part of the summer of 1856 he resigned in disgust. A second failure of the Administration to force slavery into Kansas.

When Shannon resigned, Daniel Woodson, a Virginian, whom

Pierce had appointed Secretary of Kansas, officiated as Governor until the arrival of Geary. The presidential election was near at hand ; and, at the solicitation of Buchanan, not only a new Governor, but a change of tactics in Kansas was deemed necessary to assist in the impending presidential struggle. Gen. Sumner, who was supposed to have sympathy for the free State men on account of his northern birth, was dismissed from command by Jeff. Davis, and Persifer F. Smith, a Louisiana slaveholder, appointed to take charge of the department of the West. In Davis's instructions to his new General, he remarks that "*patriotism and humanity alike require that the rebellion shall be promptly crushed.*" Shortly after his arrival in the Territory, Geary, on the 12th of September, 1856, issued a proclamation, which was read aloud at Leavenworth to the assembled crowd by Mr. Adams. This proclamation demanded that all military organizations in the Territory (except the Federal forces) should disband. The change that had been suggested by Buchanan was to sustain the pro-slavery party by acknowledging the validity of the laws passed by the bogus legislature, and sustain the pro-slavery judicials in their crusade against freedom by arresting free State men. To make the matter appear fair, all military organizations had to be disbanded—border ruffians, as well as free State men. This was the scheme hit on by Buchanan—to *disarm the free State men, and render them powerless for defence.*

Atchison, Reid and Titus had a border ruffian force then in Kansas of 2,400 men, with four pieces of artillery. The Missouri Platte Argus at the time said : "*Geary agreed to carry out what the border ruffians wanted if they would disband, and with that understanding they marched out of the Territory.*" The record they left behind can only partially be given. They murdered Maj. Hoyt, of Lawrence, by breaking in his skull, and otherwise mutilating the body so as to render recognition almost impossible. One hundred of them ravished a mother and daughter during the absence of the husband and father at Kansas City. About the same time Mr. Hopp,



formerly of Rock Island, Ill., while about three miles on his way from Lawrence to Leavenworth, was shot and scalped, and left dead in the road. They broke up the Quaker Mission at the Shawnee Reserve, where the Friends had a school educating a few Indians, plundering the place, and driving off the horses, while the Quakers were forced to flee for their lives. On Washington Creek, about seven miles from Lawrence, they visited the house of Henry Hyatt, a native of Indiana. A young widow, a friend of the family, had accompanied them to their new home ; and in the evening of August 20th, while she was passing from an out-house into the dwelling, she was seized by a band of ruffians, who, before she could scream for aid, choked her tongue out of her mouth and tied it with a string behind her and round her neck, telling her if she made the least noise she would instantly be shot. They then tied her hands behind her back, and removed her to a patch of prairie grass, about 400 yards from the house, and after ravishing her in turn kicked her in the sides and abdomen, and left her (as they supposed) to die. On their way out of the Territory these pro-slavery ruffians, in passing the house of Mr. Buffum, who was just then harnessing up his horse, they demanded it. He explained to them that he had an aged father and mother, and a sister and brother that were blind and dumb, all depending on him for support. "You see," said he, "I also am myself a cripple." They immediately ripped out an oath that he was a "damned abolitionist," and shot him through the bowels. They then took his horse, leaving him in such a condition that he died in about one hour. They sacked the town of Franklin, and scalped a man while alive, and exhibited his skinless head to his outraged friends. On the Missouri, above Leavenworth, the settlers at Kickapoo, Atchison and Doniphan, irrespective of party, were plundered of all they possessed ; even the under garments of women and the children's clothes, were stripped from their bodies and carried off by the pro-slavery border-ruffian mob. Lecompton and Tecumseh, both strongholds of pro-slavery in Kansas, came in for a share of their lawless depredations.

In the meantime a force was collected at Lexington, on the Missouri river. This is a town in the State of Missouri where emigrants going to Kansas by water have to pass. All steamboats were compelled to stop here and submit to a search. If any free State persons were aboard, they were sent back; if they had arms, they were taken from them. Thus no more free State emigrants were permitted to enter Kansas by the water route. Colonel Richardson, a Missourian, was also dispatched to the Nebraska line, with a force of 400 border ruffians to block up the land road, and prevent any free State settlers entering Kansas by that route. With all these advantages in favor of the pro-slavery party, success appeared inevitable.

This was the situation on the 29th of September, 1856, when Governor Geary brought the Federal dragoons into the field. Clark, the murderer of Barber, (whom Ex-Governor Shannon had boarded with,) Col. Titus, Reid and Atchison were retained by Geary as his aids. Lane, the free State General, made his escape with a small force, with their arms, into Nebraska. Up to October 14, 1856, not one pro-slavery man had been arrested by Geary. All kinds of charges were made and indictments found against free State men, who were arrested by U. S. Marshal Donaldson, (although they never resisted Federal authority,) supported by the Federal army.

Every hope of the free State party appeared, to the outside world, as crushed by the slave power wielding the Federal Government. Geary's rule was such that it compelled free State men to flee from the Territory for their lives. The slave State of Texas had voted \$50,000 to assist the border ruffians to make Kansas a slave State, and large sums were sent from other slave States to the leaders of the pro-slavery bands to encourage them to persevere in aiding the Federal Government to murder and drive out of the common territories all the settlers from the free States.

The pro-slavery agitators in Congress were now anxious to lend their aid to the Federal Executive, in the shape of attaching to the army bill, authority to use the Federal army



to put down insurrection in Kansas ; which meant, to use it to butcher its free State settlers if they did not give their consent that slavery should be supreme in the Federal territories. The army bill passed the House with the above clause attached ; 80 Southern Representatives voted for it, and 21 members from the free States—making 101 votes. The Senate refused to pass it with that clause, by a vote of 25 to 7. It was struck out, and sent back to the House, and the bill was then passed with no proviso as to the employing of the army in Kansas.

Some time in October, 1856, a train of emigrants under Mr. Eldridge, 250 in all, were met by Deputy Marshal Preston, with 700 troops and six pieces of artillery. He ordered the emigrants under arrest, and searched their baggage. They were mostly from New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa. They were all discharged by Gov. Geary on their arrival in Kansas, and their arms and baggage restored to them.

Gov. Geary had arrived in time to witness Mr. Buffum die. He pledged him that he would bring his murderer to justice. A warrant was placed in the hands of Marshal Donaldson for the arrest of Hays, the murderer. He was arrested and brought before Judge Lecompte, who released him on bail, Sheriff Jones becoming his surety. This aggravated Gov. Geary, and he immediately offered a large reward for his re-arrest. Donaldson refused to act, and swore he would resign. The Governor induced Col. Titus, who was one of his aids, to make the arrest. Titus, the most rabid of all, and the leader of the band of Southern thieves, was about to leave, with his two companies, to join Walker, in Nicaragua, and, for a large consideration from the Governor, he and his men, who had been kept as a kind of body-guard when all other militia was disbanded, made the arrest. Hays was this time brought before Judge Cato, who refused a writ of habeas corpus, and the criminal was sent to jail. This occurred on the 29th of November, and Titus left, with his two companies, on the 1st of December. This act of simple justice on

the part of the Governor completely turned the pro-slavery officials of Kansas against him. They sent letters to the heads of department requesting his removal, and a perfect feud was got up between him and Judge Lecompte. This unprincipled judicial knave had just committed twenty free State men for manslaughter, and sent them to prison for five years. Such an act of judicial outrage was never before perpetrated in the whole history of the country. Gov. Geary saw and felt it; his better nature revolted against it, and they joined issue. He removed the Lecompte trials and ordered them before Judge Cato.

On the 6th of January, 1857, several members of the free State Legislature met at Topeka. Sheriff Jones swore out, and Judge Cato issued the warrants, and the new Marshal, who was appointed to fill Donaldson's place, (Pardee,) made the arrests.

The bogus pro-slavery Legislature met at Lecompton on January 15, 1857. Gov. Geary advised the Legislature to repeal some of the obnoxious laws, and let slavery alone until a Constitution was adopted. Not a single officer in the Territory was amenable to the people or to the Governor; they all held their offices by appointment of the bogus Legislature.

On the 17th of February, 1857, a bill was framed and passed by this infamous Legislature to assist Hays, and other pro-slavery murderers to give bail and escape justice. The Governor vetoed it; but the Legislature passed it over his head by only one dissenting vote. After it was passed, Clark, (whom Gov. Shannon, and Sheriff Jones had boarded with,) the murderer of Barber, gave himself up, and entered bail to appear. The Governor had also vetoed the bill providing for a Constitutional Convention, because it did not provide that the Constitution should be submitted to the people. The bogus Legislature passed it over his head. Geary had entirely lost his influence over the Legislature, and the Convention that assembled to form a pro-slavery Constitution looked on him with distrust.

Judge Lecompte wrote a letter to Attorney General Cush-



ing, dated Jan. 9th, 1857, stating that he regarded Geary's advent into Kansas as "a woful curse to the Territory." Also a large party of South Carolinians, who had gone to help make Kansas a slave State, left for home; passing through Washington about the first of the month, they remarked that they were "completely disgusted with Geary and Kansas."

The Legislature appointed one Sherrard to fill the place of Sheriff Jones, resigned. He being an outlaw and a drunkard, the Governor refused to commission him. He secretly waylaid the Governor, and in order to get him into combat, so as to have an excuse to assassinate him, spit in Geary's face.

The Governor exerted himself to get up an indignation meeting at Lecompton. Sherrard attended the meeting, pistol in hand, and after wounding three persons was himself shot dead by a young man attached to the Governor's suit. Geary, hearing that there was a plot to assassinate him, ordered out a regiment of United States infantry stationed in the town, and sent to Tecumseh for the dragoons who were employed there to guard the prisoners, but it was found that all the ferry boats had been set adrift, and there was no way of passing over the troops. He then called out a number of citizens for his defence. The bogus Legislature had justified the act of spitting in his face. The Governor becoming satisfied that his life would be taken if he remained in the Territory, resigned about the middle of March, 1857.

The officers of the United States army under Gen. Smith, when that Louisiana slaveholder found the Governor would not go all lengths to sustain slavery, also turned against him. In his farewell address, the Governor says: "I have been refused a detachment of two companies, with the taunting reply that 'The United States army is not here to protect *you*.' A band of fifty men have been organized, ever since I entered the Territory, to assassinate me if I did not go entirely in the interest of slavery. My life was constantly in danger. The murders, assassinations and robberies of the pro-slavery border ruffians have never been told."

Thus ended the administration of Gov. Geary in Kansas.

He was selected by Pierce, at Buchanan's solicitation, to go into Kansas to quiet the excitement, in order to assist in the presidential canvass of the fall of that year, 1856. The fraudulent voting, the arming of the border ruffian militia under the form of law, and the raids, in defiance of all law, of from 100 to 300 Missourians into Kansas to murder the free State men, all having failed, Geary went out to disband all the above auxiliaries, and bring the Federal forces into the field, to make a show of a peaceful settlement of the difficulties, in order that Buchanan might not be defeated. The election was carried by the pro-slavery party, under the banner of State Rights, and slavery in the Territories to be rejected or established by the residents themselves without any outside interference. Stripped of all mask, this doctrine is, that a State has power above the General Government; and slavery is above the control of any act that Congress might pass. In this election the democratic party became entirely sectional, and their ticket was elected on a platform that Thomas Jefferson would have spurned, and Andrew Jackson spit upon.

A resolution was passed in the Buchanan Cincinnati Convention, endorsing the Administration of Pierce. This was for the Southern pro-slavery eye. It was excluded from the platform, and few of the Northern Democratic journals ever published it, and no one of them ever endorsed it. So much for the fork-tongued, cheating convention, that nominated Jim Buchanan, a worse traitor than Benedict Arnold. By this double dealing they secured for him 1,800,000 votes. Fremont, his opponent, received 1,275,000. In the free States alone, Fremont exceeded him 130,000. Add Fillmore's, the Know Nothing candidate's vote, 890,000, to Fremont's, and it leaves the old traitor 325,000 votes in the minority.

What Raynor Kenneth, of North Carolina, a Fillmore Native American Orator, thought of Buchanan, may be seen in a speech delivered in Philadelphia, Nov. 1st, 1856. He remarks: "Buchanan is the representative of slavery agitation; he is the representative of discord between sections; he is



the man whom the Northern and Southern agitators have agreed to present as their candidate. If he be elected, at the end of four years more, they will spring upon you another question of slavery agitation."

Pierce's sectional pro-slavery administration had made more anti-slavery men than the lecturers and newspapers of that party had done for twenty-five years. Buchanan, as was expected, carried all the slave States; add to them New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, and his own State, Pennsylvania, which together gave him 174 electoral votes. There being no separate anti-slavery candidate, as heretofore, Fremont carried the great States of New York and Ohio, and nine other free States, making 113 electoral votes in all. Unlucky Fillmore, or the Native American candidate, carried only Maryland. The anti-slavery converts made by Pierce's administration increased from 152,296 in 1852 to 1,275,000 in 1856. The traitor was about sixty-five years old when elected.

Not only did the South claim that the Territories belonging to the Federal Government were all open to the introduction of slavery, but they *desired* the annexation of Cuba; and Pierce, in all haste, set about to procure it, and solicited the aid of James Buchanan, then Minister to England, and J. Y. Mason, then Minister to France, to assist our Spanish Minister, Pierre Soule, to negotiate at Madrid. In a letter to Mr. Soule headed, "Department of State, Washington, August 16th, 1854," Secretary Marcy says: "Sir, I am directed by the President to request that you call a meeting of three ministers, to meet at Paris, to consult on the best measures to adopt in your negotiations at Madrid."

This meeting was held, but not at the place suggested by Pierce, but in *Belgium* and *Prussia*. We make a few extracts from the letter of reply, dated at

"AIX LA CHAPELLE, October 18, 1854.

"The undersigned, in compliance with the wish expressed by the President in his several confidential dispatches you have addressed to us respectively to that effect, have met in conference, first at Ostend, in Belgium, on the 9th 10th and

11th instants, and then at Aix la Chapelle, in Prussia, on the days next following up to the 18th of October."

After enumerating the immense advantage that would accrue from annexing, the reply goes on :

*"Indeed, the Union can never enjoy repose or possess reliable security as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries."*

[\$120,000,000 was the price Pierce wanted to pay for Cuba.]

If Spain should refuse to sell the island :

*"Then the question should assume a new shape: Does Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endanger our internal peace, and the existence of our cherished Union; if so, every law, human and divine, will justify us in wresting it from Spain if we have the power."*

[Signed] JAMES BUCHANAN,  
J. Y. MASON,  
PIERRE SOULE,"

That part of Pierce's administration, to procure more slave territory at the hazard of a war with Spain, was only rendered more odious by its being notoriously known that the administration was secretly encouraging the getting up of hostile expeditions to invade Cuba, and, to blind the public, on the 8th of December, 1855, issued a proclamation to prevent it.

Gen. Wm. Walker, of Scottish descent, but a native of Tennessee, was now struggling to become master of Central America. He had already fought the battles of Rivas, Souci, Virgin Bay, and Granada, but was compelled to fight a second battle at Rivas on the 11th of April, 1856. In this fight he was victorious, but with severe loss. Don Patricio Rivas was Walker's President of Nicaragua. His proclamation, previously issued, had been received with some favor by Guatemala, Honduras, and San Salvador. The object of Walker's first expedition to Sonora, according to his own statement, was to develop the resources of Lower California, and to effect a *perfect social organization* therein; and to this he said it was necessary to make it independent. In his brief hour of presidential authority, after declaring independence of



Mexico, his second decree was, extending the laws of the *slave State of Louisiana* over the Republic of Sonora. This was his *record* that induced the administration of Pierce to recognize and encourage him in his new field of operations. After Walker's Minister had been recognized at Washington, the administration authorized a meeting to be held, on the 23d of May, 1856, in the city of New York. Lewis Cass wrote a letter to be read at this meeting; he says: "My feelings and sympathies are with you in the demonstration of public satisfaction at the wise and just measure of the administration, by which the existing Government of Nicaragua is recognized, and will be encouraged to go on in its good work." Add to this Marcy's threatening letter about the same time to Louis Molina, Charge d' Affaires of Costa Rica. That Government was hostile to Walker and his adventurers, and Secretary Marcy gives its Minister to understand that such hostility was viewed as indirectly against the United States Government.

The Washington Daily Union, from the 27th of December to the 14th of March, had accounts of six different expeditions on their way to join Walker. Meetings were held in New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, Nashville, and almost every other Southern town of note, endorsing the action of the administration, and encouraging it and Walker to persevere in the good work in which they were jointly engaged. Colonel Titus, who, with two companies, had been sent by Florida to assist in driving the free State men out of Kansas, was induced by the administration to start with his force to the assistance of Walker, in Nicaragua. He left Kansas on the 1st of December, 1856, at the secret solicitation of the administration to assist the South, under Walker, in acquiring more slave territory in Central America.

This sectional administration of the *Man of Sin* was now coming to a close. In the brief time of four years it had fulfilled every prediction of the anti-slavery men of the North, and completely corrupted the fountains of the democratic element, and used the prestige of that great party to over-

throw its long cherished principles established by *Jefferson*, *Jackson* and *Polk*. His administration was managed exclusively by the disciples of Calhoun; they annulled the doctrine that Congress had power over slavery in the Territories by repealing the Missouri Compromise of 1820, by which they opened all the Federal territory to the introduction of slavery. They sent armed assassins from the slave States into Kansas to force slavery into that Territory, against the expressed will of a great majority of its actual settlers, a detailed account of which we have already given. They were plotting to acquire the island of Cuba, at the hazard of a war with Spain. They allied themselves with and encouraged Walker in his disreputable and subsequent disastrous failure to extend slavery into Central America. They perverted justice, by influencing the Supreme Court to join in their unholy pro-slavery crusade, and compelled Judge Taney to keep *secret* his unrighteous decision in the Dred Scott case until after the presidential election—he holding it in his pocket over six months—that their new candidate (Buchanan) might not be defeated by its promulgation. After the desirable object had been accomplished it was made public, March 6th, 1857, two days after Buchanan's inauguration.

To provide against Buchanan's defeat by Fremont, the administration had arranged, according to a previously required *pledge*, to betray the United States Government into the hands of the ultra pro-slavery men of the Southern States. The proof of this can be found in the Washington correspondence of the New Orleans Delta, dated Sep'. 10th, 1856, which says: "If Fremont is elected, Virginia, Georgia and South Carolina will immediately withdraw from the Union, before Fremont can get hold of the army and navy or purse-strings of the Government. Wise, of Virginia, is actively at work, and the South *can rely on President Pierce in the emergency contemplated.*"

Buchanan now began to arrange for the presidential term for which he had been elected. The ultra pro-slavery men of the South determined to control or kill him. They expected



he would be the last President that the pro-slavery party could ever elect, and they were determined to have four years exclusive control, so as to disarm the Federal Government. Pierce stood ready, if Fremont had been elected, in 1856, to betray his country. Buchanan *might* be sure, but Breckinridge *they knew* to be safe. Like Butler, Gordon and Leslie, of Wallenstein memory, they resolved to take the life of their leader. Who acted the part of Capt. Devereux, in attempting to assassinate Buchanan, we know not.

#### THE ATTEMPT TO MURDER PRESIDENT BUCHANAN.

Presidents Harrison and Taylor had been singly assassinated. The first had been dispatched with such perfect success, and a period of ten years having nearly elapsed, and no arrests having been made, it was thought safe to apply the same means to destroy President Taylor. Although the first had twice succeeded without detection, still a repetition for a third time of poisoning a President during the early part of his term of office, and amid high political excitement, it was thought would be surrounded with evidence of foul play, and thus lead to detection.

Therefore, to prevent suspicion and investigation, a change of tactics was determined upon. Instead of the President (as heretofore) being the only victim, it was so arranged that from twenty to fifty persons were to lose their lives, and *among them President Buchanan*. It would thus appear as an accidental occurrence.

Every effort had in each case been made to use the Chief Magistrate exclusively for the *slave interest*, and only when these efforts had failed was murder used to secure victory. The slave interest was led to believe, by Buchanan's political life, and by intimations from the old public functionary himself, that his administration would be rigidly pro-slavery. The Kansas troubles were at their height. Through the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, slavery had a chance in that territory, and Jefferson Davis, and Hunter, of Virginia, and Toombs, of Georgia, with other disciples of Calhoun, were

determined to rule and direct the incoming administration. Every effort was resorted to for the purpose of compelling Buchanan to make up his Cabinet from the pro-slavery, disunion Southern element. The old gentleman became very stiff in the back after his election, and began to think he was his own master; the country appeared to him to have a Northern as well as a Southern interest, and he refused to be controlled.

He visited Washington in the latter part of February, and put up, as usual, at the National Hotel. On Sunday, the 22d day of February, it became generally known that he had set his face strongly against the Jeff. Davis, pro-slavery rule or ruin party. It was given out that Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and Howell Cobb, of Georgia, were to have the leading positions in his Cabinet.

"He had also promised to settle the question of the freedom of the territories to the satisfaction of the people of the free States."—*New York Eve. Post*.

"The appointment of Cass and Cobb to the two commanding positions in the Cabinet strikes the secessionists between wind and water, and is equivalent to a practical and absolute repudiation of the border-ruffian, Kansas, negro-agitation, disunion policy of Pierce."—*New York Herald*, Feb. 22, 1857.

The *Herald* of the 26th says: "The appointments, by the Jefferson Davis faction, will doubtless be *accepted and treated as a declaration of war, and as a war of extermination* on one side or the other."

On the 22d, Buchanan's determination became known; and on the 23d of February, 1857, (next day,) he was poisoned. The plot was deep, and planned with skill. Mr. Buchanan, as is customary with men in his station, had a table, or chairs, reserved for him and his friends. The President was known to be an inveterate tea-drinker; in fact, Northern people rarely drink anything else in the evening. Southern men mostly prefer coffee. Thus, to make sure of Buchanan, and cause as many deaths in the North as possible, arsenic was sprinkled in the sugar bowls containing the tea or lump sugar, and set



on the table where he was to sit. The pulverized sugar used for coffee setting on the table was kept free from the poisonous drug by deep-laid strategy ; thus, not a single Southern man was affected. Fifty or sixty persons dined at different intervals at that table that evening ; and as near as we can ascertain about thirty-eight died from the effects of the poison.

*Mr. Buchanan was poisoned, and with great difficulty preserved his life. His physician treated him understandingly, from instructions given by himself as to the cause of his disease, for he understood well what was the matter. We make the above statement from the highest authority, and as to the material facts we feel confident that the Ex-President, although not our author, will not contradict them.*

Shortly after the occurrence, the *Cincinnati Commercial* had an article headed as follows :

*"Poisoning the President.—Mr. Buchanan, it is well known, has suffered terribly from the epidemic, and is by no means at this time in good health. A gentleman of our acquaintance, passing through Washington a few days since, happened to hear confirmation of the fact from Mr. Buchanan himself." The Commercial says, "We take the liberty of quoting the following from a private letter : 'As I was passing a gas light I saw a couple of gentlemen, one of whom, although I had not seen him for sixteen years, I almost knew to be the President. I stepped alongside, and a glance confirmed me ; I was not mistaken. The old man totters ; his legs are weak. A half stumble drew some remark from his companion which I did not hear. His reply was : 'I am not right ; my health is not recovered ; adding, in a sort of begging tone, 'but I am getting better.'"*

*"Killing the President.—When elected President, Mr. Buchanan was in the highest physical condition. A few days before the inauguration he visited the Capital, and on returning to Wheatland was slightly affected with an epidemic prevailing at the Capital at the time."—New York Herald, March 14th, 1855.*

“Since the appearance of the epidemic the tables of the National Hotel have been almost empty. But more remarkable than the appearance of the mysterious epidemic itself, is the supineness of the Washington authorities in regard to it. Have the proprietors of the hotel, or clerks or servants suffered from this disease? If not, in what respect has their *diet* and accommodations differed from those of the guests. There is more in this calamity than meets the eye. It is not a matter to be trifled with.”—*New York Post*, March 18, 1857.

Those having a hand in the foul crime, in order to delude investigation, said the disease resulted from the water in the cistern, into which a number of rats that had been poisoned with arsenic had plunged. The Board of Health met on the evening of March 16th. The sewerage of the establishment was pointed to and observed. All the drains, it appears, were south, and southern winds were supposed to have an effect. But how, it may be asked, did a cause which existed for so long a time only begin to produce a fatal effect immediately on the arrival of President Buchanan in Washington? The *South Side Democrat*, Petersburg, Va., says: “Is boasted modern science so completely in the dark that it cannot detect the difference of effect between mephitic air and *arsenic*?”

*Symptoms of the attack, and Names of some of the Murdered Dead.*—A persistent diarrhea, in some cases accompanied with violent vomiting, and always with a most depressing loss of strength and spirits in the person. Sometimes for one day the patients would be filled with hopes of recovery, then relapse back again into loss of spirits and illness.

Mr. Lenox, of Ohio, died on his way home from Washington. He was a guest at the National at the time of the occurrence.

Mrs. J. L. Adams, of New York city, also died from the effects of this disease. “A post-mortem examination of Mrs. Adams revealed the fact that the stomach had been partly eaten away by *arsenic*.”—See *New York Post*, March 14, 1857.

Mrs. Robert Johnston, of Newark, N. J., after an illness of five weeks, died. Mrs. Johnston, and daughter, and husband



had been at the National Hotel at the time. Mr. Johnston and the daughter were also severely afflicted, but recovered. —*Newark Advertiser*, April 16th, 1857.

Elliott Eskridge, Mr. Buchanan's nephew, was believed to have died from the same cause.

The following individuals were also poisoned at the time, but recovered : Hon. Robert B. Hall, member of Congress from Massachusetts ; Hon. O. B. Matteson, of New York State ; Benj. F. Butler, (now Brigadier General,) of Mass. ; John Appleton, editor of the *Union*, Washington, D. C. ; J. Glancy Jones, of Pennsylvania ; Samuel Medary, of Columbus, Ohio ; Wilson G. Hunt, G. Gifford, and Marshal Hillyer, all of the city of New York. The latter gentleman's physicians detected *arsenic* in the contents of his stomach.

Intimidated by the attempted assassination, Buchanan became more than ever the tool of the slave power. He now, in conversation with Southern ultras, boastingly remarked, that, "*in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise the South, for the first time in the history of our Government, had obtained its rights.*" So wrote the correspondent of the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat.

Gov. Geary explained fully to the President the true condition of Kansas, and offered to return, if he would furnish him the military required to protect him against the border ruffians. Clark, Calhoun and Whitfield were now in Washington, demanding Geary's removal. It now became known that McLane, chief clerk of the surveyors office in Kansas, had intercepted, read and destroyed two bushels of letters going from and directed to Gov. Geary. The contents of some of the intercepted letters were communicated to the leaders of the pro-slavery party, and as many of these epistles bitterly denounced them, it was a miracle that he ever came out of the Territory alive.

Buchanan commenced his administration in Kansas affairs as though the entire territories of the United States belonged exclusively to the slave drivers. Lecompte was retained as Judge, and Whitfield, Emery, Woodson and Anson were also

kept in office. Thus the judiciary, land officers, public surveyors and marshals were all of the same stripe. Robert J. Walker, formerly of Mississippi, was appointed Governor, and another desperate effort made to force slavery into Kansas. All the power asked for by Geary was readily promised to Walker. Buchanan, through his Secretary, Fred. P. Stanton, of Kentucky, in an address published in the Lecompton Union, the latter part of April, 1857, says that the "*administration has recognized the authority of the territorial Legislature, and the validity of the territorial laws, (one law of which was that rebellion against territorial law was punishable with death,) and has especially recognized the act providing for a Constitutional Convention.*"

Gov. Walker arrived in the Territory the last of May. On the 3d of June, in his inaugural, he remarks that "the territorial enactments must be obeyed, and he wishes all parties to take part in the elections, and hopes that the Constitution will be submitted to the people." He was willing to sustain the pro-slavery party in enforcing obedience to the laws passed by the bogus territorial Legislature of 1855. He proclaimed that he would use the United States troops to prevent illegal voting at the polls; but when told that Missourians were coming over to vote, he refused to send troops to the exposed border. He had also procured writs against forty or fifty persons who had been voted for to serve under the charter of the city of Lawrence. Old Ex-Governor Shannon laughed at this, but he did not understand that it was a poor political bone that Walker deemed necessary to throw to the hungry slave power.

The Governor took the stump, and everywhere in the Territory urged on the pro-slavery party the importance of granting to the actual settlers of Kansas a fair chance to vote, and also strongly recommended that the Constitution should be submitted to a direct vote of the people. Although externally appearing to act for the interest of slavery, his policy concerning the election, and his well known liberal views about submitting the Constitution, when drafted by the Con-



vention, to the approval of the people, divided the pro-slavery party. A great number of the rank and file sided with the Governor, while the leaders of the party combined against him. Mr. Perrin, Walker's private Secretary, in a letter to the *New York Times*, dated Lecompton, June 3d, 1857, says: "A middle party has sprung up, who will vote with the free State party, and there is no doubt but with this party the settlement of the Kansas question must eventually rest."

Senator Wilson, of Mass., was in Kansas in the latter part of May and fore part of June, 1857. He and Walker sometimes spoke, one after the other, from the same platform.

The Lecompton Constitutional Convention, elected under Gov. Walker, Sept. 12, 1867, refused to admit the free State delegates. Gov. Robinson (free State) had been tried for treason, August 21, by Judge Cato, who charged the jury strongly against him, but they brought in a verdict of *Not Guilty*. Nearly every officer appointed by Buchanan, except *Walker* and *Stanton*, had committed, aided and encouraged murder in Kansas.

Although Walker refused to send troops to protect the polls on the Kansas border, the free State men were delighted when he threw out the fraudulent returns sent in from *Johnston* and *Magee* counties. This act of justice, so faithfully done by him, was bitterly censured and condemned in a letter to him from Buchanan. The administration was now bearing hard down on Walker. The *New York Day Book*, a pro-slavery sheet, demanded his removal, because he had forfeited the good opinion of the Democracy of the Territory. Buchanan, in his message of December 8th, 1857, came out against him. Senator Stephen A. Douglas, the *Chicago Times*, and *Philadelphia Press* were among his defenders. Walker became disgusted, and resigned. His resignation was accepted by Gen. Cass, December 18th, 1857.

On the day previous the bogus Legislature had agreed to submit the Lecompton Constitution to a vote of the people. Although this pro-slavery document had been in existence since September, no one (not even Gov. Walker) had been permitted to see it.

The Kansas Legislature was composed of 13 free State men and 6 democrats in the Senate, and 29 free State men and 15 Democrats in the House.

Gov. Denver was next appointed to fill Walker's place. The free State element had now become so powerful that Gen. Lane was making numerous arrests for illegal voting. The Lecompton Constitution was repudiated by several thousands of the popular vote. This news of defeat set hard on the pro-slavery party. In Congress, Keitt, of South Carolina, grabbed Mr. Grow, member of the House from Pennsylvania, by the throat. The latter knocked him down, remarking at the same time, that "no negro-driver should crack his slave whip over him." This occurred, Feb. 6th, 1858, and produced a general row in the House, which was difficult to quell.

Buchanan, chagrined at Walker's failure in Kansas, remarked, after he had sent his Kansas message into Congress, Feb. 2d, 1858, that "he would carry Lecompton through in sixty days or die."

The free State men were not only getting strong, but bold. Gov. Denver issued a proclamation against arming the militia; yet Gen. Lane kept on arming, and stigmatized Denver as a perjurer, calumniator and tyrant. This was in March, 1858. The object of arming the militia was, if the Lecompton Constitution passed Congress, to make it impossible to organize any Government under it. On the 27th of March, 1858, persons pretending to be officers of the United States army, in search of deserters, went in the dead of night to the house of Isaac Denton, on the Osage river. Mr. Denton rose from his bed and let the pro-slavery ruffians in, when he was immediately shot dead. Mr. Hedric and Mr. Davis, his neighbors, were also on the same night murdered in the same manner.

On the 30th of the same month a Constitutional Convention was sitting at Leavenworth. The Convention drew up a remonstrance addressed to the President, Congress, and the Legislatures of the different States. This instrument set forth, 1st, that the Lecompton Constitution *was not the act of the people of Kansas*; 2d, that it had been condemned by



them. It was signed by Winchell, Thacher, Emery, Walden and Foster. Ex-Gov. Walker, after reading this remonstrance, in a letter to S. S. Cox, said, "If the Lecompton bill now pending in Congress pass, the odious Lecompton Constitution, born in fraud, and baptized in forgery and perjury, will be defeated by an overwhelming vote by the people of Kansas." Secretary Stanton, in a letter about the same date, said: "The Constitution has once been rejected by the people of Kansas, and why does Congress wish to send it back again to be repudiated."

Persifer F. Smith, the pro-slavery commander sent out by Jeff. Davis, under Pierce's administration, to supersede Gen. Sumner, died at Leavenworth, May 16, 1858. Only three days after, as though hell had been reinforced, Capt. Hamilton, a Missourian, with 25 armed ruffians, 17 of whom were from Missouri and 8 from Kansas, captured 11 free State men in the southern part of Kansas, and at a ravine near Fort Hamilton, placed them in a row standing, when he ordered his men to take aim and fire. They all fell at the first discharge; five were instantly killed, and five severely wounded. The murderers then went up and began to rifle their pockets. Finding one still unhurt, the Captain placed his pistol to his ear and put the ball through his head. One of the men, who had been slightly wounded, was overlooked in their great haste to escape; he worked his way back to the post and told the sad news. Many of these ruffians were personally acquainted with their victims, and murdered them because they were free State men. Campbell, Colpetzer, Ross, Stilman and Robinson, were some of the dead. Reed, a baptist preacher, Hall and Hargraves, (father and son,) were among the severely wounded. The names of the others we could not procure.

To prevent the repetition of these outrages, the free State party encouraged Capt. Montgomery to organize a sufficient force, with which he afterwards frequently made excursions into Missouri. In a little speech, this free State Captain said, "he made no war on peaceable citizens, be they pro-slavery or free State, but only on those who are devastating Kansas, and

murdering peaceful citizens ; neither did he allow any of his men to insult a woman."

Gov. Denver accomplished very little during his term of office. He made a treaty of peace similar to that of Shannon, but the pro-slavery party broke it by commencing indiscriminately to murder the people of Fort Scott. He resigned Sept. 21, 1858.

Buchanan, determined to make Kansas a slave State, although so often defeated, was resolved to make one more effort. On the 12th of November, 1858, he appointed Samuel Medary, formerly Editor of the Ohio Statesman, and more recently Ex-Governor of Minnesota Territory. His instructions were to prevent Kansas from sending a Constitution into Congress that winter, if possible.

A few persons said, and a great many believed, that the pro-slavery murderer, Capt. Hamilton, was instructed from Washington to commit his depredations in order that a plausible excuse could be had for making another military effort to subdue the free State men. One thing is certain, Medary had scarcely got warm in his seat when Hamilton charged the people of southern Kansas with stealing negroes. Mr. Bailey, and several other free State men, were murdered in December, and Medary made a requisition on the President for military aid.

Medary endeavored to do away with the expressive names of pro-slavery and free State men, and introduce the good old titles of Democrats and Republicans. He thought the name of Democrat would cover a multitude of sins, and perhaps it might change him from being the tool of a corrupt administration to being the choice of the people of Kansas. He became a candidate for Governor, in opposition to Charles Robinson, at the election of December 6, 1859. Hon. Abraham Lincoln was in Kansas during the canvass. It was an animated one. Medary was backed up by the administration. He had as his supporters Russell's and Waddell's teamsters, the Indian agents, and hangers on generally. Every effort was made to secure Democratic success, but it failed. Rob-



inson was elected Governor by about 3,000 majority, and the entire Republican ticket by about the same vote. The Governor and members of Congress were the same that were elected under the Topeka Constitution of 1855 ; and Topeka, as then, now became the State Capital.

Thus bribery, forgery, perjury, arson and murder, under various pretenses, with the assistance of two corrupt administrations of the Federal Government, backed up by the slave power, seducing the weak and striking down the strong, leaving no effort untried, even unto fire and blood, to force slavery into Kansas, failed. The God of battles saw these murders and secret assassinations ; the groans of the victims ascended like incense from liberty's altar, and he swore by himself that Kansas should be free.

Although Medary was overwhelmingly defeated by the people of Kansas in the December election, still, by instructions from Buchanan, he continued to stay in the Territory. The people of Kansas had chosen a Governor ; but Medary was left by Buchanan to keep up the strife, and guard and protect, with the fidelity of a watch-dog, the institution of slavery. In February, 1860, the Kansas Legislature passed a bill prohibiting slavery in Kansas. Medary vetoed it, and on the 29th of the same month the same Legislature passed it over his veto. He had previously, by the aid of the military, cleaned out all the settlers on the Indian national lands south of Fort Scott. This was done at the commencement of winter, and hundreds of them perished from hunger and cold. Between the action of the Federal Government and its ally, Capt. Hamilton, the deaths from cold, hunger and assassination, in this part of Kansas, were frightful to contemplate.

Capt. Montgomery, as we have before stated, organized a company for the defence of the free State settlers in southwestern Kansas. Frequent charges had previously been made against him, and in 1859 he gave himself up to Gov. Medary to be tried, but no grand jury could be found in Kansas that would indict him. He finally became the terror of the slaveholders and border ruffians of southwestern Missouri. In

November, 1860, placards were extensively posted and circulated in that region setting forth that Capt. Montgomery, with a band of abolitionists, were setting free and running off all the slaves in the border counties. This was untrue ; but it was the last desperate effort of a corrupt administration to revive and rally the pro-slavery element for another struggle to force slavery into Kansas.

At this time the entire slave interest in Missouri, from Gov. Stewart down, became alarmed. Stewart called out a large force of militia, and sent them to the border. The administration at Washington sent out Gen. Harney to assist Gov. Medary. Harney wanted to take the matter out of the Governor's hands, by declaring martial law ; but Medary insisted that the Government troops should only be used to assist the U. S. Marshal to make arrests. Harney's object in declaring martial law was, that he could then immediately court-martial and shoot Montgomery and his party when they were captured.

It was now rumored that Montgomery was at Mound City with three hundred well armed men. Harney, fearing to make an attack on the city alone, requested the aid of Gen. Frost. With their united strength they advanced ; but when they arrived they failed to find Montgomery. From this time forward all kinds of exaggerated stories and pro-slavery lies were freely circulated : Montgomery was here to-day committing depredations ; to morrow he was somewhere else slaughtering the masters and stealing their slaves.

John Brown, who had suffered so much from the pro-slavery border ruffians of Missouri, understanding well the nature of the Kansas contest, concluded about this time to make a flank movement, and change his base from the Osage country of that Territory to Harper's Ferry, Virginia. As a great number of Virginians, including the son of Ex-Gov. Johnston, had come to Kansas to fight him and his cause, he thought it courtesy to return the compliment. Arrangements having been made to Brown's satisfaction, he and his company entered Maryland by way of Chambersburg, Pa., and took up



their quarters in Washington county, at a house previously rented, about five miles from Harper's Ferry. The party comprised only 20 men besides Brown, the commander-in-chief; five of them were negroes. On the night of the 16th of October, 1859, these men forcibly seized the U. S. arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and held it from half past ten o'clock on Sunday night until about ten o'clock on Tuesday morning. The assault to re-capture the arsenal was made by the United States Marines, led on by Col. Harris, Lieut. Green, and Maj. Russell. Fifteen of Brown's men were killed, three wounded, and five taken prisoners. Six citizens were killed.

This was not a slave insurrection, but a continuation of the Kansas struggle. It was the first blow that the free State men struck at their old enemy outside of that Territory. Brown understood well the nature of the hideous monster, and thought he was doing God's service to beard him in his den. Physically, the magnitude of the undertaking was too great for the small means under Brown's command; but its tragical termination, and the bravery of his death, gave to liberty another martyr, and to freedom a new impulse. Although his body lies mouldering in the ground, his soul is in the Union army triumphantly marching on.

Through two presidential terms the slave power kept up the Kansas slavery agitation. Through the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, it was opened by Pierce's administration, and continued with an energy worthy of a better cause until his term of office expired. It was then passed over to Buchanan, as the life and soul of the Democratic party, and he revived, extended, and encouraged the agitation for two years in Congress under the names of Lecompton, and anti-Lecompton Democrats, then Crittenden Compromise, Montgomery-Crittenden Compromise, and then again the English bill. Thus, under the guidance of the slave power, and the treason of Pierce and Buchanan, the Democratic party became corrupted, demoralized, divided and ruined.

During Buchanan's entire term of office he refused to acquiesce in the settlement of the Kansas question. He pros-

tituted the Federal Government by rewarding with office those who supported his slave policy by voting for the Lecompton Constitution. Joseph Miller, of Ohio, a weak and wavering Democrat, was rewarded for his vote in favor of Lecompton with a judgeship in Nebraska; a half dozen more were similarly rewarded. But Douglas, Broderic,\* Walker, Stanton and Forney, whom he could not bribe, were denounced as traitors to the Democratic party. Gov. Medary, now discovering that Buchanan was determined not to permit the Kansas question to be settled during his administration, resigned, December 20, 1860. As soon as the Southern States began to withdraw from the Union, Buchanan signed the bill, admitting Kansas.

It was determined that this question should be the final excuse for separation and disunion. The war had commenced in Kansas, and was five years in full blast before John Brown made his raid on Harper's Ferry, and was in its seventh year before President Lincoln took his seat. The faithful historian, who seeks truth, will find slavery to have been the cause, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise an accessory before the fact, and driving freedom out of Kansas at the point of the bayonet, the exact time when the rebellion commenced.

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\* Backed up and encouraged by the administration at Washington, a combination of pro-slavery Democrats was formed in California to take the life of Senator Broderic. He boldly denounced the Lecompton fraud, and Senator Gwin, unable to cope with him in argument, gave Broderic to understand that he was anxious to fight him a duel. Broderic refused to fight until after the election. Another pro-slavery dog, by the name of Perley, also challenged him to fight. Broderic refused. Justice Terry, a Lecompton Democrat, an experienced duelist and an excellent shot, then challenged him. Broderic had previously taken this man out of the hands of the Vigilance Committee, and thus saved his life. He now saw there was a price set upon his head, and again declined; but Terry pressed the matter so hard that Broderic at last, fearing private assassination, accepted the challenge. The duel was fought September 13, 1859. Broderic fell at the first fire, pierced through the lungs, and died on the 16th. Calhoun Benner and Tom Hays were Terry's seconds, and J. H. McKibbon seconded Senator Broderic. Buchanan dreaded this powerful opponent, and the slave holders also dreaded him, and were determined to have his life. Brought up in the city of New York, and unaccustomed to the use of fire arms, he had no chance with the individual who had been pitched upon to take his life. His death was a public, political murder, for the benefit of pro-slavery principles and pro-slavery men.



Jeff. Davis, as Secretary of War under Pierce, ordered Gen. Smith to bring the Federal forces into the field to drive freedom out of Kansas. This was in 1856 ; and on the 9th of February, 1861, he is appointed commander-in-chief of the slaveholder's rebellion at Montgomery, Alabama. Ceasing to control, he determines to destroy the Federal Government.

THE SLAVEHOLDERS BECOME SAVAGES, AND COMMENCE WAR  
AGAINST CIVILIZATION.

South Carolina, on the 20th of December, 1860, takes the lead. The rebel chiefs, decorated in all the panoply of war, now assembled at Charleston, and joined in a war dance, stamping, yelling, and brandishing their scalping-knives and tomahawks, threatening death and universal slaughter against the tribes of the North. These demonstrations were looked upon by the South Carolina tribe as immense, and full of promise for the future. Great care was taken to send hourly reports, of the most exciting nature, from Camp Charleston, to all the other slaveholding tribes. Thus, in one of these reports, Chief Ruffian was represented as having made a great speech, in which he said : “ *The independence of the Southern tribes can only be secured by the tribe of South Carolina taking the lead.*” This speech, which was made at Columbia, was represented as causing a furore of excitement among the *braves*.

*Another Bull.*—“ Virginia and other slaveholding States may as well at once understand their position with the South Carolina tribe.”

*Still Another.*—“ The South Carolina tribe is decidedly in earnest. There is but one voice among them, and that is for war. They have done counseling—now they act.”

These fire-brands of revolution were swiftly carried in every direction by the savages, and served to excite the different tribes to join in the foul plot. As was intended, the excitement by this means soon reached the neighboring tribes. Mississippi was the first to show sympathy ; and on the 9th day of January, 1861, they agreed to send warriors to

Charleston. South Carolina has 703,708 souls, including 402,406 slaves. Mississippi has 791,305 souls, including 436,631 slaves.

On the 11th of the same month the tribe of Florida, numbering 140,425 souls, holding 61,745 slaves; also on the 11th, the tribe of Alabama, numbering 964,201 souls, including 435,080 slaves, both of these tribes sent warriors to the camp at Charleston. And on the 20th of January the great and powerful tribe of Georgia, numbering 1,057,286 souls, including 462,198 slaves, also joined the war party, and sent warriors to the great camp at Charleston. On the 26th of January the tribe of Louisiana, numbering 708,002 souls, including 331,726 slaves, joined the others by sending warriors to Camp Charleston. On the 1st day of February, the tribe from the Rio Grande, Texas, numbering 604,215 souls, including 182,566 slaves, sent warriors, and joined the other tribes in the fortunes of war.

Seven tribes had now banded together, and had a great number of warriors congregated at Camp Charleston. The other tribes appeared to be holding off.

It was not until after the seven tribes had united, that a chief was selected. On the 9th of February, 1861, Davis was, by the consent of the other chiefs at Montgomery, Alabama, declared to be the great chief, around whom were to be gathered all the slaveholding tribes. (Capital moved to Richmond, Va., May 20th, 1861.)

Thus, *South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana and Texas*, make seven tribes. Combined they number 4,968,994 souls, and hold 2,312,028 slaves.

It was their determination so to arrange matters, that when hostilities commenced other tribes would be brought in by the excitement. And for the purpose of getting up the war fever, Wise started for the James River, and from there he went to the Blue Ridge Country, every where urging the great men of the tribe to prepare for war. In this way all the eastern part of the country, inhabited principally by that portion of the Virginia tribe that held slaves, was worked into excitement. In the valleys and on the hills the blue smoke



by day, and the red lights by night, could everywhere be seen ; while Wise went from camp to camp, counseling the braves and training them for the conflict.

Among the tribes living east of the Blue Ridge, all peaceful pursuits were abandoned by day, and the horrors of night were increased by the howl of the wolf, the scream of the panther, and the yell of the savage—all equally ravenous and thirsting for blood.

Thus *Wise*, with his eloquence, had made all things ready, and only one thing was needed, and that was some one to lead. Chief *Ruffian*, a very old man, was of the Virginia tribe, and upon his head fell the honors of commencing the work of death. *And on the morning of the 12th of April, 1861, at precisely 4½ o'clock*, standing near the grave of Oceola, in Fort Moultrie, he fired the first gun at Sumter. (This man, Edmond Ruffian, aged over 74 years, on the 17th of June, 1865, committed suicide, at the residence of his son, 27 miles from Danville Va., by placing a loaded musket to his mouth, and blowing off the top of his head.) This fort, although strong, contained only a force of one hundred and nine men ; while the attacking party numbered above ten thousand. Thirty-three hours the little garrison held out against overwhelming numbers, when they were compelled, the fort being on fire, to surrender, and haul down the starry flag. After which was run up the Palmetto flag of South Carolina.

Now the management in putting forward Ruffian was in accordance with the programme laid down. Only five days after he commenced the attack on Fort Sumter, on the 17th of April, the tribe of Virginia joined the ignominious seven. This was a great acquisition, a very powerful tribe, numbering 1,596,079 souls, and holding 490,887 slaves ; and located near and joining lands with some of the great Northern tribes, its acquisition was heralded with delight by the chiefs.

On the 6th of May, the tribe known as Arkansas, numbering 435,427 souls, including 111,104 slaves ; and also on the 6th of the same month, the tribe from the Cumberland, known as *Tennessee*, numbering 1,109,847 souls, including 275,784 slaves ; and on the 20th of May, the tribe from Pamlico Sound, known as North Carolina, numbering 992,667 souls, including 331,081 slaves, joined the others.

This made eleven tribes that had embarked in the war,

numbering in all, men, women and children, 9,103,014 souls. The *slaves* held by these eleven tribes number 3,521,884. There remains four tribes, holding slaves, that have refrained, in a legislative capacity, from joining the war party. Although thousands and thousands of their braves, and many of their chiefs have gone on their own account, and are now fighting in the army of the South, yet the tribes themselves, although many of their members sympathize, have never yet joined the rebellion in force. Their names are Maryland, numbering 687,034 souls, and holding only 87,188 slaves. Missouri, numbering 1,182,317 souls, and holding only 114,965 slaves. Kentucky, numbering 1,155,713 souls, and holding 225,490 slaves. The little tribe of Delaware, numbering 112,218 souls, and holding only 1,798 slaves.

Thus, these four tribes are not in actual hostility against the North; yet the great majority of their leading men have very decided sympathies with the South. The four tribes number 3,137,282 souls, including 429,441 slaves.

The condition of the country, long before President Lincoln came to Washington, was deplorable. Not only had seven States passed the ordinance of secession, and organized a Confederacy, but also many, or nearly all the forts in the slave States, had been seized on the 2d of January, 1861. Forts Pulaski and Jackson, in Savannah Harbor, Georgia, were taken possession of by the tribe in that State; the former mounting 150 guns, and cost the General Government \$923,000; the latter mounting 14 guns, and cost \$80,000. Also the Mount Vernon Arsenal in Alabama, with 20,000 stand of arms.

On January 4th, the next day, Fort Morgan in Mobile harbor, was seized by the Alabama tribe. It cost the General Government \$1,212,000, and mounts 132 guns; also the Arsenal at Mobile, containing 800 stand of arms, and 1,500 barrels of powder, 300,000 rounds of cartridges.

On the 9th of the same month the steamer *Star of the West*, while on her way to Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, with provisions for the starving garrison, was fired into, two shots taking effect.

On the 11th of January, Forts St. Phillips and Jackson, on



the Mississippi, and Fort Pike, on Lake Ponchartrain, and the United States Arsenal at Baton Rouge, were all taken by the Louisiana tribe.

On January 13th, Fort Barrancas, and the United States Navy Yard at Pensacola, were seized by the Florida tribe; and the United States Arsenal at Augusta, Geo., was seized by the tribe of Georgia on the 24th of January; and on the 31st of the same month, the Mint belonging to the United States, at New Orleans, was seized, with \$389,000 of Government money, and \$122,000 in the Sub Treasury.

The Peace Convention now commenced its sittings at Washington. How humiliating it is to read how the South spurned every offer to prevent the effusion of blood.

The Illinois and Kentucky Legislatures had previously recommended Congress to call a Convention to change the Constitution of the United States, so as to give additional guarantees to slavery. In the excitement that was raging, Virginia sent invitations to all the States, inviting them to send delegates to a Convention, to be held in Washington, D. C., on the 4th of February, 1861. Only twenty States responded; seven slave—Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina and Tennessee; thirteen free—New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maine, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa.

This Convention (wholly unknown to the Constitution) assembled about one month after the traitors at Charleston had fired on the ship *Star of the West*, which was taking provision to the starving garrison at Fort Sumter. It was without legal form, and got up by traitors to gain time, and keep down the rising ire of the North. Many well-meaning men of the free States went to see what additional concessions were required to appease the wrath of the slave-drivers. These self-constituted settlers of our national difficulties, although without authority, offered to do any and everything for peace. Many of them, with tears in their eyes, went on bended knees, and implored the traitors to desist. They

even went so far as to elect Ex-President John Tyler, the accessory to President Harrison's assassination, President of the Convention.

The Committee on Propositions brought in, and were ready to give their consent to add a new article to the Federal Constitution, to be composed of seven sections, to be called Article 13th.

The first section provided for a division of all the existing territory by the line of 36 deg. 30 min.

The second section was a pledge never to acquire any more, except with the concurrence of a majority of all the Senators of the slave States and all the Senators of the free States.

The third section prohibited Congress from interfering with slavery within any State, or in the District of Columbia, without the consent of Maryland; and the slaveholders therein also prohibited any interference with slavery in the Territories, and the slave trade between the slave States.

The fourth section guaranteed that the Fugitive Slave Act should everywhere be respected.

Fifth—The interests of Virginia required that the foreign slave trade should be prohibited. This section prohibited it.

The sixth section bound the United States to pay for all fugitive slaves rescued by violence.

Mr. Chase made an able speech before the Convention. He said: "Mr. President, let us not rush headlong into that unfathomable gulf. Let us not attempt this unutterable woe. We offer you a plain and honorable mode of adjusting all differences. It is a mode which, we believe, will receive the sanction of the people. We pledge ourselves here that we will do all in our power to obtain their sanction for it. Is it too much to ask you, gentlemen of the South, to meet us on this honorable and practicable ground? Will you not, at least, concede this to the country?"

On the conclusion of these remarks, the question was taken upon the proposed amendment to the Constitution, and it was rejected by the following vote, every slave State voting against it:



Ayes—Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Vermont—9.

Noes—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia—11. The Ohio delegation voted as instructed by its Legislature.

On February 8th, the United States Arsenal at Little Rock, with 9,000 stand of Arms and 40 cannon, including Bragg's Battery, was seized by the Arkansas tribe.

February 16th, the Southern traitor, General Twiggs, having command of our main army on the frontiers of Texas, surrendered his entire force, his men being made prisoners of war, and all their arms, munitions and supplies were turned over to the enemy.

All this was done while Buchanan and his Cabinet were doing all they could to destroy and disable the Federal Government. Tousey, his Secretary of the Navy, under different pretensions, had dispersed the fleet, sending some to cruise around the coasts of China and Japan; some to the Mediterranean, and some to the West Indies, so they might rot by the action of the elements in the tropical seas. Others were sent to the coast of Africa, under the pretense of capturing slaves, until scarcely a United States war vessel could be seen in the Federal waters.

Floyd, his Secretary of War, was equally industrious, transferring from the free States all the available war material to the arsenals and forts located in the slave States. 115,000 improved muskets and rifles were removed from the Springfield and Waterville arsenals to the South. He also removed that portion of the Federal army located on and near the seaboard (where it was easy of access) far away—some to Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Oregon, California, and other frontier stations, from which it would require a year to bring them back. Even on the 15th of November Fortress Monroe in Virginia, was only garrisoned by eight companies of artillery; the valuable arsenal at Fayetteville, North Carolina, by one company: Fort Moultrie, in Charleston harbor, by two companies, (only eighty men); Key West fortifications by one company; Barrancas Barracks, Pensa-

cola, by one company ; the richly stored arsenal at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, by one company ; while the New Orleans Mint, and the valuable Custom-houses in New Orleans, Charleston, Mobile and Savannah, were totally without guard. Norfolk Navy-yard, and Pensacola Navy-yard, both having millions of property, were only guarded by one hundred and twenty marines.

The first demand made of the President by the rebels, after the plot was developed, was, that no reinforcements should be sent to Southern fortresses. General Scott plead with Buchanan to throw a strong force into Fort Moultrie, as had been done in 1832 ; but Buchanan, instead of doing so, assured the rebels that none would be sent.

Thus the Government, betrayed, stood with both arms paralyzed ; and while in this condition seven States, headed by South Carolina, one by one tore themselves away, taking seven forts, four arsenals, one Navy-yard, and the Mint belonging to the United States at New Orleans, with five hundred and eleven thousand dollars. The value of the property stolen, up to this time, is set down at twenty-seven millions of dollars ; add to this the eight millions of Indian Trust Bonds stolen by Floyd, and it makes thirty-five millions of dollars.

Thus, before President Lincoln was within a thousand miles of the Capital, we find a Democratic President and Vice President, and leading Cabinet officers, all rotten with treason and besmeared with crime, a Government betrayed, robbed, bound hand and foot, bleeding and festering and festering and bleeding at every wound ; with a bastard institution holding its councils and head-quarters at Montgomery, Alabama, with Davis as leader, martialing its thousands of armed foes, all eager and bent on destroying the beneficent Government they had so foully betrayed.

From there we again look back to Washington, only for a change. There we see Buchanan, the Chief Magistrate, an imbecile traitor, tottering away in disgrace, with scarcely courage enough to look back on the awful tragedy which his foul treachery, sympathy or imbecility, had shared in



producing. Nearly all his cabinet officers had fled, to escape the punishment due their crimes. But Buchanan remained longest, and on the last days of his power pleasingly contemplated, with a grim-like smile which grew to a laugh, the agonizing sufferings of a wrecked and ruined country: remarking as he retired, "As George Washington was the first, James Buchanan will be the last President of the United States."

The presidential election of 1860 found the political elements in a very unsettled condition. Buchanan had given a secret pledge to the South before he received his nomination at Cincinnati (and he kept it) that the Kansas war should not be settled during his administration. The Democratic party had become demoralized. From the exalted position of defending human freedom and popular government, it became the reviler of liberty and deadly enemy of free institutions. It set aside the rights of man to make room for Calhoun's rights of the States. The popular will was to be controlled by bribery and fraud, and was only to be tolerated when it served slavery and placed Democrats in office. *Pro-slavery, disunion, anti-abolition, and a death grip on the spoils*, were the substitutes offered by Pierce and Buchanan for the Democratic principles established by Jefferson and Jackson.

At Chicago, in May, 1860, Lincoln and Hamlin received the nomination of the Republican party for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States for the ensuing four years. The 3d article in the platform adopted, contains the following: "We hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may." Another article stipulated that Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution, recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

At Baltimore, June 22, 1860, Stephen A. Douglas and Herschell V. Johnston were nominated for the offices of President and Vice President by the Democratic party. On the next day, June 23, the disunion wing of that party nominated John C. Breckinridge and Joseph Lane for the same positions. This wing of the party proclaimed slavery national, and freedom only sectional.

In May, 1860, John Bell and Edward Everett were nominated for President and Vice President by the tail of the old Whig party, which all supposed to have died in 1852. They went in for the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws.

Lincoln and Hamlin carried 17 States—180 electoral votes. Breckinridge and Lane carried 11 slave States—72 electoral votes. Bell and Everett carried 3 States—39 electoral votes. Douglas and Johnston carried Missouri and part of New Jersey—12 electoral votes.

Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin clipped both the Douglas and Breckinridge wings of the Democratic party, and cut off the tail of Bell and Everett. Lincoln had a clear majority of 57 electoral votes over all opposition. This was a glorious triumph for the Union, a day of rejoicing for liberty, and a proud day for freedom—a day of rescue and deliverance of the General Government from treason and traitors—a day that shall add new lustre to the American name, and create joy in the hearts of millions yet unborn.

#### THE PLOT TO ASSASSINATE PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Twenty men had been hired in Baltimore to assassinate the President elect on his way to Washington. The leader of this band was an Italian refugee, a barber well known in Baltimore. Their plan was as follows: When Mr. Lincoln arrived in that city, the assassins were to mix with the crowd, and get as near his person as possible, and shoot at him with their pistols. If he was in a carriage, hand grenades had been prepared, filled with detonating powder, such as *Orsini* used in attempting to assassinate Louis Napoleon. These were to be thrown into the carriage, and to make the work of death doubly sure, pistols were to be discharged into the vehicle at the same moment. The assassins had a vessel lying ready to receive them in the harbour. From thence they were to be carried to Mobile, in the seceded State of Alabama.

Gen. Scott heard of the plot, and advised with Senator Seward; and they sent Frederick W. Seward, the son of the Senator, to meet Mr. Lincoln in Philadelphia, and urge him to come to Washington in a private manner. It was late on Thursday night, February 21st, that Mr. Seward arrived in Philadelphia. He immediately went to the Continental Hotel, and communicated the facts to Mr. Lincoln. His reply was that he would fulfill his engagements in Philadelphia and Harrisburg if he should lose his life.

On the next day, 22d, (Washington's birthday,) according to promise, Mr. Lincoln raised the American flag on Independence Hall, Philadelphia. He had also accepted an invitation of the Pennsylvania Legislature to meet them that afternoon. He did so; and remained at Harrisburg until



20 minutes before 6 o'clock, that evening, when he embarked, in company with Col. Lamon, for Philadelphia, at which place he arrived at 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  o'clock, and took the through night train (which was a little behind time) to Washington. The party entered the sleeping car at Philadelphia, and passed through Baltimore without any one there knowing he was aboard the train. They arrived in Washington at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  o'clock on Saturday morning, the 23d of February. The President wore no disguise whatever, but journeyed in his ordinary traveling dress. His enemies had sworn that he should never be inaugurated; therefore it was necessary to keep a close watch on the movements of the conspirators. This was done by the aid of detectives until after his inauguration. The names of the conspirators are in the possession of responsible parties, including the President, but for wise purposes are withheld for the present.

Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1861. After being introduced to the assembled crowd by Senator Baker, of Oregon, he read his inaugural address, and was then sworn in by Chief Justice Taney.

While President Lincoln and his Cabinet were engaged in sifting out and sending adrift the official traitors that surrounded Buchanan, the South was mostly occupied in getting control of all the property belonging to the General Government and arranging matters so as to become absolute masters of all the slaveholding States. The Golden Circle, and other secret military organizations, gave them great advantage in getting an organized army early into the field. They had long been drilling for the conflict which they had brought about, and which they long since had determined to settle only by the sword; their minds were made up; not wavering, but settled and determined and impatient for the strife. The free States did not dream that the plot was so extensive, or that treason was so deeply rooted and universal in the slave States. From the President down the people of the North were surprised and confounded, and for a time were unable to determine what course to pursue. While we were wavering and inclining to compromise, the South was firm and resolved to accept none. Unconditional independence was their ultimatum. Mr. Lincoln did not understand matters when, on the 15th of April, he called for only 75,000 volunteers, and commanded the rebels to return to peace in twenty days. To this small demand Gov. Magoffin, of Kentucky, Gov. Letcher, of Virginia, Gov. Harris, of Tennessee, and Gov. Jackson of Missouri, (all slave States) refused to furnish their quotas. This was an eye-opener; and Mr. Lincoln now for the first time began to realize his condition and the

condition of the country. The free States began to vote money and organize armies to support the Federal cause.

While the treasonable Confederate commissioners were in Washington threatening and demanding, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York were organizing and sending forward regiments. On the 18th of April the Pennsylvania volunteers reached Washington. On the same day the Massachusetts 6th regiment passed through New York on its way, and next day, while passing through Baltimore, was attacked by a pro-slavery mob. Two of its men were killed, and ten wounded. They fired into the mob, killing eleven, and wounding about thirty. The same day the New York 7th regiment left for Washington. The Governor of Maryland and Mayor of Baltimore informed the President that Baltimore was in the hands of a mob, and troops going that way to the capital would have to fight their way through. On the 3d of May Mr. Lincoln called for 42,000 three years' men. He was still loth to believe that the entire slave States were rotten with treason. The South had called for no particular number of troops, but on the 9th of May the Rebel Congress authorized Davis to accept all that offered.

The object of the war was wholly misunderstood by a great majority at the North, and is hardly yet understood by all. The South went into the contest united in relation to the cause, object, and policy of the war. The free States embarked in it, divided both as to its cause, policy to be pursued, and object to be attained. Some Generals supposed that in protecting slave property the Union could be cemented, by convincing the South that the free States did not wish to molest, but on the contrary would fight for the sacred institution. Others thought that it was not the business of the Union army to concern itself about slavery, either to protect or destroy it. Still another very powerful and intelligent class, seeing a little further, discovered slavery to be the heart of the rebellion, and that the quickest way to destroy it was to strike it where it lived. The first class loved slavery for its own sake; the second neither admired nor hated it, but thought it impolitic to meddle with it; the third despised and detested it, and saw in its downfall a fruitful victory, and a restored and happy Union, extending from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with a justified present and a glorious future. The first party despised the abolitionists more than they did the rebels; the second class blamed them for bringing about the war; the third, having a foundation like the rock of Gibraltar, remained firm amidst the changing storms and waves of the political sea.

Some men's judgments lie buried so deep that experience, although a great teacher, is unable to reach them. This class, with eyes wide open at noonday, will swear it is night. They invariably despise Mr. Lincoln, and admire Davis and Lee. Indeed, some of those who voted for



Lincoln, and are supposed to be high in his confidence, have even at this late day failed to discover that slavery has anything to do with the war.

Despised by the South, hated by the Democratic place-men and their dupes, counceled and suspicioned by the conservatives, and deceived by traitors in disguise, Mr. Lincoln must have been directed by divine wisdom and strengthened by its power to have grown so fast and so strong amidst such adverse surroundings.

On the 21st of July Gen. McDowell, with an organized force of 18,000 inexperienced troops, attacked Gen. Beauregard, with 27,000 rebels, at Bull Run. For ten hours the ground was hotly contested, when, without any seeming cause, a panic seized the Union army, and the entire force fled in disorder back towards the Capital. Our loss was about 500 killed and 1,000 wounded, and Beauregard had taken 1,500 prisoners. This was the first effort the disarmed and paralyzed Federal Government made to *strike back* at the traitors. It was a weak and unsuccessful stroke, and served to inspire them to new and more desperate deeds.

On the 10th of August, Gen. Lyon, with 5,200 men, at Wilson's Creek, Missouri, made an attack on McCulloch, Rains, Price and Jackson, with a combined force of 24,000 rebels. The rebel loss was greater at this battle than Beauregard had sustained at Bull Run, being 421 killed and 1,300 wounded; the Union loss was 263 killed and 721 wounded. The odds were tremendous and the contest desperate. The brave and heroic Lyon was killed while heading a charge on the enemy's lines. His troops retreated in good order to Rolla.

John C. Breckenridge had remained in Kentucky until Sept. 21. His object in so doing was to use his influence to unite that State with Jeff. Davis. On the 20th of June Gen. McClellan first took command of the troops in Western Virginia, and on the 22d of July he was placed in command of the army of the Potomac. On the 1st of November he was appointed Commander-in-chief, which office, on account of age, General Scott had resigned. On the 13th of May he commenced his advance into Virginia, and on the 17th drove the rebels across the Chickahominy. On the 23d his own army crosses the same stream, and on the 26th he takes possession of Hanover Court House, and on the 31st fights the battles of Seven Pines and Fair Oaks. On the 25th of June he commenced his Seven Days' battles before Richmond—battles of Gaines' Hill, Golding's Farm, Chickahominy, Savage Station, White Oak Swamps, and ending at Malvern Hills, July 1st. None of these battles were considered a success for the cause of the Union; yet the rebels were severely punished in many of these terrible but undecisive contests.

President Lincoln, after witnessing the disasters that had befallen McClellan, issued a call for 300,000 volunteers. On the 11th of July he

appointed Gen. Halleck Commander-in-chief. He visited the shattered army of the Potomac, and had a talk with McClellan. On the 6th, Gen. Hooker, with part of the army of the Potomac, abandoned Malvern Hill. On the 16th McClellan evacuated Harrison's Landing, and on the 17th his rear-guard crossed the Chickahominy. Gen. Pope, who had been assigned to the command of the army of Virginia, on the 26th of June, now, on the 17th of July, commenced retreating towards the Potomac, and on the 30th he fought the second battle of Bull Run, was defeated, and his entire army made its retreat in the night. After 41 days of continued disaster, Pope was relieved of his command.

The rebels, taking advantage of their success against McClellan and Pope, were now threatening Washington. On Sept 2d Gen. McClellan was assigned to take command of the army for the defence of the Capital. Burnside had the day before evacuated Fredericksburg, and on the 5th Gen. Lee commenced, at the Point of Rocks, the invasion of Maryland. On the 17th the battle of Antietam was fought, after which Lee retired across the Potomac. On the 22d Presid't Lincoln issued his proviso emancipation proclamation, and on the 1st of October visited McClellan, and urged him to cross the Potomac in pursuit of Lee. On the 26th McClellan's army again began to advance, and on the 6th of November it occupied Warrenton, Va. On the 7th, after being unsuccessful, except in defence, for 470 days, and his inactive policy having cost about \$1,000,000,0000, he was removed from command, and Gen. Burnside appointed to supersede him. The battle of Fredericksburg was fought by Burnside on the 13th, and on the 16th he retreated across the Rapahannock after severe loss. Bragg, who had been intrenched at Shelbyville and Tullahoma, in Tennessee, was about this time dislodged and out-generaled by Rosecrans, who, by a master stroke of policy, became possessor of the military key of the South, Chattanooga.

Except the few bright spots in the south and southwest, such as Mill Springs, Ky., Fort Henry, on the Tennessee, Fort Donaldson, on the Cumberland, Farragut at New Orleans, and the evacuations of Nashville, Corinth, and Memphis, the year 1862 was full of disaster to the Union cause. The mere mention of Virginia or Richmond was enough to make a Union man sick.

The year 1863 commenced with Mr. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, which declared free the slaves in all States, or parts of States or Territories then in rebellion against the General Government. This righteous, just, necessary and popular measure, and the getting rid of McClellan, was the turning point in the war. Heaven then looked down and smiled upon the cause of the Union, and the very next day, under Gen. Rosecrans, gave us a great victory at Stono River, with trifling loss. Gen. Bragg, who commanded the rebels, lost 14,560 men, the greater portion



of which were killed. On the 8th a great victory was obtained at Springfield, Mo., and on the 9th Col. Ludlow succeeded in exchanging about 20,000 rebel prisoners for the same amount of our men. On the 11th we captured Fort Arkansas and Fort McClernard; our loss was only 1,000, while that of the rebels was over 5,000, with all their arms and supplies. On the 25th the first colored regiment was organized at Port Royal, South Carolina.

On the 26th Gen. Hooker succeeded Burnside in command of the army of the Potomac; and on the 29th Gen. Banks promulgated the emancipation proclamation in New Orleans. On the 26th of February the Indian Cherokee National Council repeals the secession ordinance, and forever abolishes slavery in their tribe. On the 10th of March the 1st South Carolina colored regiment captured Jacksonville, Florida, and on the 14th the mighty Farragut moved his Mississippi fleet past Port Hudson, on the way to Vicksburg. On the 1st of April he passed the Grand Gulf batteries with small loss. On the 16th Admiral Porter's fleet passed the Vicksburg batteries, losing only one transport and no men. On the 28th of April, Gen. Hooker, with the army of the Potomac, crossed the Rappahannock, and on the 30th of April Gen. Grant's army landed near Port Gibson, Mississippi, and on the 1st of May fought the battle of Port Gibson, and commenced marching on Vicksburg. On the 2d Hooker fought the battle of Chancellorville, a hotly contested fight. Stonewall Jackson, one of the most successful rebel Generals, was wounded, and died on the 10th inst. On the 6th Hooker retreated across the Rappahannock, but Lee was unable to pursue. On the 3d the colored South Carolina regiment returned from the Cambahee river raid, bringing with them 800 slaves and destroying over \$2,000,000 worth of rebel property. On May 13th Yazoo City, Mississippi, was captured by our gun-boats, and rebel property destroyed amounting to over \$2,000,000.

On the 15th Gen. Grant defeated Pemberton at Edward's Ferry, and on the 16th drives him to Big Black river. On the 17th Pemberton retreated towards Vicksburg with great loss. On the 18th Gen. Grant invests Vicksburg. On the 21st the rebels offer to surrender Vicksburg if they are permitted to march out. Gen. Grant gives no conditions. On the 27th Gen. Banks assaults Port Hudson without success; great bravery was displayed by the colored troops under his command. On the 28th Boston sent out the first colored regiment that went from the North. June 6th the negro troops defeated the rebels at Miliken's Bend. On the 15th Lee marches into Maryland with 100,000 troops. On the 28th Gen. Hooker was superseded by Gen. Meade. On the 30th the rebel outworks were breached at Vicksburg. On July 1st the battle of Gettysburg commenced, and continued with varied success until the 3d, when a great victory was won by Gen. Meade. Twenty-three thousand

of the rebels, killed and wounded, were left on the field, and 6,000 prisoners fell into our hands. Lee retreated at night towards the Potomac. On the 4th Gen. Grant obtained his immortal victory at Vicksburg, capturing the entire rebel army, 31,720 men, with all their arms and equipments, and 234 guns. About the same time Port Hudson surrendered to Gen. Banks 7,000 prisoners and 40 pieces of artillery. An understanding was had, that if Lee was successful in Maryland his friends were to rise in the city of New York. Chagrined at his defeat, and also mortified at Gen. Grant's great triumph at Vicksburg, a pro-slavery riot broke out on the 13th, killing negroes, burning the colored Orphan Asylum, and killing peaceable citizens. They were finally subdued on the 16th, after many of them had been killed. On the 26th John Morgan, with his entire command, was captured near New Lisbon, Ohio, while making a daring rebel raid, (Morgan has since been killed in Kentucky.) John B. Floyd died at Abingdon, Va., Aug. 27th. October 17th President Lincoln calls for 300,000 more volunteers. Nov. 24th, capture of Lookout Mountain, in Tennessee, Gen. Hooker fighting above the clouds.

God waited until the nation resolved to be just before he gave it success. You may search history in vain to find such a series of victories as those that followed the commencement of 1863. Battles which in their magnitude would have appalled all Europe were fought, and victories made fruitful for the Union cause, not only in the positions gained, but in the numbers of the enemy slain; which numbered, in less than 125 days, over 50,000, while those taken prisoners in the same length of time amounted to over 100,000 more. Since the commencement of Mr. Lincoln's presidential term, Russia has emancipated her slaves, and at a great meeting held July 9, 1864, at Geneva, Switzerland, patriotic resolutions were passed, applauding his emancipation policy. The good and wise of all countries, from the confines of Russia to half-civilized Japan, endorse and sustain it.

Since Gen. Grant, as Lieutenant General, has taken command of all the armies, and especially assumed command of the army of the Potomac, there has been a series of successful strategic movements, in which Lee has been out-generaled, surprised, and forced to come out from behind breastworks and fight or abandon his fortifications. Grant holds the rebellion by the throat; and Gen. Sherman in his great campaign through the center of the Confederacy, has slain about 50,000 traitors, and captured over 150 guns, and has at last taken the heart out of the monster in the capture of Atlanta. Farragut who, in 1862, illuminated the Mexican Gulf, and lit up the Mississippi with the flame of his guns, has gone with his illuminators into the dark bay of Mobile. The forts for the defence of the city are already captured, and the fall of the city itself is only a question of a few days time.



Since the President issued his emancipation proclamation, we have, with few exceptions, had almost uninterrupted success. Slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia. Maryland has become civil, and has also abolished slavery. Delaware has done the same. Missouri, that was overrun with treason, has also passed an act of emancipation. Louisiana has been reclaimed from the hand of the usurper, and has done likewise. Western Virginia has done the same. Tennessee has bid good-bye to the rebels, and, with Arkansas, is determined to come into the Union free. Georgia is now beginning to look up; the storm is passing over her, and in a few more weeks she will be out of danger. In North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, and Virginia, large portions of each and all of these States are wrested from the grasp of the spoiler. Since Jan. 1st, 1863, sufficient territory has been retaken from the rebels to form a country larger than the British Empire.

Mr. Lincoln was unanimously re-nominated by the Union Convention that assembled at Baltimore on the 7th of June, for a second term of office. No Convention ever yet assembled in the United States, that so completely represented the will and wants of the American people. We predict that he will carry almost every State, entitled to an electoral vote for President, in November, 1864. To change the policy of the General Government, every man of reflection sees disaster, disgrace, and ruin to the cause of the Union. With the reelection of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, the Union will virtually be restored. These are the only Union candidates, and they will receive the undivided support of every Union man.

The embarrassing circumstances which surrounded Mr. Lincoln during the commencement of his present term, the energy by which he overcame all obstacles, and his undying devotion to the cause of his country, entitles him, like our first Presidents, to a second term. With this will come a restoration of our glorious Union, and an honorable and lasting peace. Having finished the great work so ably commenced by the early Fathers, his well earned fame will enter immortality in company with Washington.

THE LAST DESPERATE SCHEME AND DEATH STRUGGLE OF THE SLAVE POWER.—FACTS FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND FOOD FOR REFLECTION FOR EVERY MAN WHO VOTES FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN NOVEMBER, 1864.

The South, finding that separation and independence could not be won by the sword, have, by the advice of the slave power, resorted to the old game. For this purpose agents were sent to Canada, to dictate

a platform, and secure a candidate for Vice President at the Chicago Democratic Convention, of August the 30th. This was all they expected; it was all they desired. The peace platform was to be held up to their weakened and disheartened Southern brethren as a gleam of hope. By this means they expect to be able to hold out until after the presidential election, although their already desperate efforts have, in the language of Gen. Grant, "robbed both the cradle and the grave," and in their own language, started the blood with the sweat. In this desperate condition they needed a new and powerful stimulus to keep up their courage for a short time longer. This they got in the platform adopted at Chicago—it promised that hostilities should immediately cease. The slave power also claimed the candidate for Vice President; and in this they demanded a *reliable man*, one that would be equivalent to Jeff. Davis himself. This they secured in the nomination of *Pendleton* of Ohio. With the platform to induce the South to hold out a little longer, and Pendleton to occupy a similar position as did John Tyler in 1840—with this hellish plot secretly arranged, they hold out to the war Democrats the treacherous, blood-stained hand of the expiring slave power. The leaders, blinded by a love for office, fail to discover the deep-laid scheme, grasp with joy the hand of the monster, which in his exhausted condition is already palsied with weakness and growing cold with death; and, in order that this demon may survive, agree to make a second Harrison of Gen. McClellan. Who can fail to see that if he should be so unfortunate as to be elected, the slave power would, by his assassination, secure disunion and eternal separation. Is any man so foolish as to suppose that in such a position his life would be worth a straw?

#### WHY DO THE SLAVEHOLDERS DETEST THE UNION?

Claiming the right of *secession* and *revolution* is the only means to secure a separation from the free States.

But why wish to separate? Let the Northern people cease to *sympathize*, and open their *eyes, ears* and *understandings* to a realization of what the *South demands*, and why it demands it.

They, the rebels, demand an entire separation of the slave States from the free States on the line of slavery; and the numerous bloody battles already fought show boldness and determination on their part to secure it. *But what peculiar interest in the South demands the separation?* What portion of the Southern people, and what are their occupations in life, who for years have been crying, "D—n the Union?"

It is not the mercantile interest. The merchants of the South, as a class, have everything to lose, and nothing to gain,



by a destruction of the Union. Neither is it the mechanical interest; the mechanics of the South have never manifested any dissatisfaction towards the Union. Neither have the boating or railroad interests anything to expect by its destruction, except complications in the carrying trade by insults and delays from custom-house officers, and increased taxation; they are not opposed to the Union. Religion of every kind and creed, without a single favorite, are all respected and protected alike, each and all enjoying the glorious privilege of worshipping God at their own time and place, and in their own way. It is not the four millions of poor, disfranchised, oppressed and degraded slaves that are scattered over the South who are rising up against, and determined to destroy the Union; no, no, it is not these.

*Who, then, is engaged in this foul plot?* It was commenced, and is continued, *by those wicked traffickers in human flesh, the slaveholders, WHO, FAILING TO CONTROL, HAVE DETERMINED TO DESTROY THE UNION.*

Now for the *slaveholder's* testimony as to why they are in arms:

The *Richmond Enquirer* vindicates the war on the ground that "the experiment of universal liberty has failed. The evils of free society are insufferable and impracticable in the long run. It is everywhere starving, demoralized and insurrectionary. Policy and humanity alike forbid the extension of its evils to new peoples and coming generations. **THUS FREE SOCIETY MUST FALL** and give way to **SLAVE SOCIETY**, a social system old as the world, and universal as man."

*Another witness*—Dr. Palmer, the moral mouth-piece of the slaveholders, preaching at New Orleans, said: "The providential trust of the South is to perpetuate the institution of *domestic slavery* as now existing, with freest scope for its natural development." We must, says the Doctor, "lift ourselves to the highest moral ground, and proclaim to all the world *that we hold this trust from God*, and in its occupancy are prepared to stand or fall."

*Another witness*—Alexander Stephens, the Vice President of the slaveholder's government, in a speech at Savannah, Georgia, March 12th, 1861, said: "That African slavery was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the rock on which the old Union would split. The prevailing opinion entertained by him, and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, was, that the

enslavement of the African was in violation of the law of nature—that it was wrong in principle, *social, moral and political*. *Our new Government is founded on directly the opposite idea*, and is the first in the history of the world based on the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery is his natural and normal condition. Thus the stone rejected by the first builders is become the chief stone in the corner of our new edifice. Negro slavery is but in its infancy; we must increase and expand it. Central America and Mexico are all open to us.”

At a public meeting held in Charleston, South Carolina, on the 17th of December, 1861, one of the speakers remarked: “The knell of this Union has been sounded, and it must go down, if it has to go down, in a stream of blood, and in a multitude of human sufferings. Three thousand millions of property (meaning slaves) is involved in this question. That Union of which so many speak in terms of laudation, its *virtues*, its spirit has forever fled. It is now a dead carcass, stinking in the nostrils of the South.”

Howell Cobb, of Georgia, says: “There is, perhaps, no solution of the great problem of reconciling the interests of labor and capital, so as to protect each from the encroachments and oppressions of the other, so simple as slavery. *By making the laborer himself capital, the conflict ceases and the interests become identical.*”

*A Curious and Explanatory Relic.*—On Barnwell’s Island, South Carolina, at the house of Mr. Prescott, were found his private papers. Rebels often run at the approach of the Union army. This traitor fled in such haste that even his private correspondence was left behind. Years after he wrote the communication calling out this letter, he was a good Democrat. In fact James Buchanan thought him so worthy as to have him as Assistant Secretary of State. The letter was written by one Garnet, then a member of the Virginia Convention, sitting to revise its Constitution, and dated May 3d, 1851.

Garnet says: “In case of South Carolina seceding, I think the Federal Government would use force, commencing with a blockade of Charleston. If you could only force the blockade, and bring the Government to direct force, *the feeling in Virginia would be very great*. Eastern Virginia is strongly in the right to secede, and is with Carolina, but the West has only 60,000 slaves to 494,000 whites; *there is the rub*. Members from this portion of the State talk strange, and I have been



pained to hear them. In this body I have *apprehensions*, as well as *hopes*. You will object to the term *Democrat*. Democracy, in its original philosophical sense, *is indeed incompatible with slavery* and the whole system of Southern society. If the General Government should succeed, Southern civilization (slavery) is gone."

One more witness, and, as Lawyers say, we rest.

The *Southern Literary Messenger*, Richmond, Va., says: "Any man who does not love slavery for its own sake, as a divine institution, who does not worship it as the corner-stone of civil liberty, who does not adore it as the only possible condition on which a republican form of Government can be erected, and who does not in his inmost soul wish to see it extended over the whole earth as a means of reformation, second in dignity, importance and sacredness only to the Christian religion—he who does not love slavery with this love, is an abolitionist."

The first witness, the *Richmond Enquirer*, sets forth the objects of the war made by the slaveholders to be the total destruction of liberty, alleging that it is a monstrous evil that should not go down to future generations.

Then we are told by the second witness, Dr. Palmer, "that slavery is a Providential trust, and he calls on slaveholders everywhere to proclaim to all the world *that they hold this trust from God*." Did ever man hear such blasphemy? Claiming that God has empowered them to establish markets and make merchandise of immortal souls, wallowing in the sweat and drinking the blood of those for whom Christ died.

Then Stephens, high in authority, the third witness, says: "the war was commenced by and in the interest of slavery. He also admits that all the leading statesmen who lived at the time, and helped to frame the old Constitution, believed slavery to be wrong; they rejected it as being unworthy to be inserted. But, says Stephens, "the stone that the builders rejected has become the chief one in the corner of our new edifice."

The fourth, Cobb, says the only way to subdue the irrepressible conflict going on between capital and labor, *is to make slaves of all laborers everywhere*; then, he says, the conflict will cease. Seward only proclaimed that there was a conflict going on between free and slave labor, but Cobb goes deeper and places it between capital and *labor*. How would some of these free laborers of the North like to have some Democratic Southerner buy them and hold them as slaves? Is that De

mocracy? De Bow's Review, published at New Orleans, Vol. XXV, for December, 1858, page 663, advocates the enslaving of the white race. He says: "To say the white race is not the *true and best slave race* is to contradict all history. Too much liberty is the great evil of our age, and the vindication of slavery the best corrective."

Reader, if you refuse to swallow and believe all these unnatural, treasonable sentiments, you are then branded with the horrible name of *abolitionist*.

We are often surprised that slavery should so hate its own offspring. Abolitionists did not create slavery; but who has the hardihood to deny that slavery has made every Abolitionist now in America? However obnoxious the child may be to the parent, it is a legitimate offspring, and not the unwilling production of a rape. And as it required slavery to produce abolitionists, so it required slavery to excite hatred to free society and free government, which has terminated in dreadful civil war. In the language of Calhoun, "It is the only question of sufficient magnitude to bring about the destruction of the Union."

#### SLAVERY.

The highest card in the deck of sin,  
 Controlling all the evil pack within;  
 It's high in every game of human vice—  
 In murder, too, it loads the dice.  
 Kings, Queens come first, then navy Jack,  
 But this card played secures the pack;  
 By color cheats and holds the game,  
 While Hoyle proclaims the suits the same.  
 Condemn not color—oh, man, be wise—  
 God made all shades beneath the skies.  
 The voice of nature, whispering man be free,  
 Cries slavery's death in every living tree.

By looking into the ancient histories of those countries that held slaves, we find that their mode of maintaining slavery was by *tortures* and *death*. But as America is the land of invention, perhaps some inventive genius has convinced the Almighty that a better mode is by doing violence to the human mind. Thus by Act of Assembly of Louisiana, passed in March, 1830, "all persons who shall teach or cause to be taught any slave in this State, to read or write, shall, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned not less than one or more than twelve months."

In Georgia, in 1829, it was enacted, "if any slave, negro, or



free person of color, or any white, shall teach any other slave or negro, or free person of color to *read* or *write*, either written or printed characters, the said free person of color, or slave, shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping, at the discretion of the Court; and if a white person so offending, he, she, or they, shall be fined not more than \$500, and a term in the County Jail, at the discretion of the Court"

Virginia, according to the Code of 1846: "Every assembly of negroes for the purpose of instruction in reading or writing, shall be an unlawful assembly. Any Justice may issue his warrant to any officer or other person, requiring him to enter any place where such assembly may be, and seize any negro therein; and he or any other Justice may order such negro to be punished with stripes. If a white person assemble with negroes for the purpose of instructing them to read or write, he shall be imprisoned in jail, not exceeding six months, and fined not exceeding \$100."

In 1834, South Carolina passed an act as follows: "If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid in assisting any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read and write, such person, if a free white person, shall be fined \$100, and imprisoned not more than six months. Slaves and free persons of color, shall receive not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding \$50."

In Alabama, "any person who shall attempt to teach any free person of color, or slave, to spell, read or write, shall, upon conviction, be fined not less than \$200, and not to exceed \$500."

Other slave States have similar enactments, but the foregoing are deemed sufficient to show to what lengths this barbarous rascality has been carried. The ancients never got so low in crime; they never dreamed of fettering the mind.

"The slave youths of promising genius," says Gibbon, the Roman historian, "were instructed in the arts and sciences, and almost every liberal profession and industrial pursuit suited to the necessities of Roman society." Thus the education of slaves was not prohibited by the Roman Government. The same is true of society in the middle Ages. Education elevated the slave in his social condition, and opened a way to emancipation.

Congreve's *Politics of Aristotle*, page 496, says: "The only true analysis to the slavery of Greece and Rome, is to be found in that which is still prevalent in Asia, where the evils of West India or American slavery are wholly unknown, and the relation of master and slave are accepted by both in Ar-

istotle's words, 'at once light, and for the common interests.' On the other hand, if we seek for an analogy in ancient times to modern slavery, we may find one in the Catifiendia of the Roman nobles, or what may be termed the Corn Plantations of Sicily. The population there was slave, and there was no check to the misuse of their power by the agents or masters who superintended them, and there was no intercourse, no sense of connection to soften the inherent hardships of their condition. They rebelled once and again; and there was danger lest their revolt should spread—lest throughout the Roman world the slave population should feel that it had a common cause."

Aristotle's opinion, was, "that there ought be held out to the slave the hope of liberty as the reward of his service. Thus by a gradual infiltration, the slave population might pass into the free." It did so at Rome through the intermediate stage of freedom, and the position of freedmen at Rome in the later Republic, and even more under the Empire, was such that the prospect of reaching it must have been a great inducement to the slaves to acquiesce in their present lot.

De Tocqueville says: "The slave among the ancients belonged to the same race as his master; and he was often the superior of the two in education and instruction." Thus hardly any similarity existed between ancient and modern slavery. The former were educated, at least many of them, and had no peculiar dress to distinguish them from their masters; and many of them, naturally and by acquisition, were his superiors. But American slavery is very different. *First*, the slaves are of a different race. *Second*, they are a different color. The tradition of slavery dishonors the race, and the peculiarities of the race perpetuate the tradition of slavery. *Third*, American slavery not only controls the body, but aims to obliterate the mind of the slave. And taking advantage of all these peculiarities, the South has stepped beyond everything heretofore known on earth or in *hell*, to secure the degradation of an entire race.

Well might Jefferson remark: "Can the liberties of the nation be thought secure when we have removed the only basis—a conviction in the minds of the people, that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath. *Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justness can not sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means, only a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation.*



is among possible events, that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

What attribute of Almighty God would allow him to take the side of the oppressor? *We ask* only, and the answer settles the argument as to which side will succeed. Sunk far below the civil law, the words of the Roman poet concerning the poor *Plebian*, with a few alterations, belong to the American slave—

Only leaving the poor negro his single tie to life,  
The sweet, sweet love of daughter, of sister, and of wife.  
The gentle speech, the balm for all his vexed soul endures,  
The kiss in which he half forgets even such a yoke as yours ;  
Still let the maiden's beauty swell the father's heart with pride,  
Still let the bridegroom's arms enfold an unpolluted bride.  
Spare him the inexpiable wrong, the unnatural shame,  
That turns his human heart to steel, the white man's blood to *flame*.  
Lest when his latest hope is fled, you taste of his despair,  
And learn by proof, in some wild hour, how much the wretched *dare*.

We have, in the body of this work, established the fact that the Southern slaveholders and their Northern abettors were the sole originators of the terrible war now raging. We will close the volume with James Madison's opinion, as set forth in the 2d vol., page 787 of *Benton's Thirty Years in the Senate*. Benton says "Mr. Madison was a Southern man, but his Southern home could not blind his mental vision as to the origin, design, and consequences of the slavery agitation. He gave to that agitation a *Southern origin*, to that design a disunion end, to that end disastrous consequences, both to South and North."

# HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

## GREAT PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST

### Of 1864.

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ALTHOUGH Pierce and Buchanan had wrecked the Democratic party, its leaders, with what assistance they secured from the South, made an attempt to bind up the fragments floating about in the free States, in conjunction with Jeff Davis, to make a last dying effort to check the rising progress of civilization. For this purpose they gathered at Chicago on the 29th of August, and presented the names of George B. McClellan for President, and George H. Pendleton for Vice-President, agreed on and adopted the following

#### PLATFORM.

*Resolved*, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution, as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a frame-work of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

*Resolved*, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American People, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity of a war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare, demand that immediate efforts be



made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate Convention of all the States, or other peaceable means to the end that at the earliest practical moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

*Resolved*, That the direct interference of the military authority of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and the repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

*Resolved*, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union, and the rights of the States unimpaired ; and they hereby declare that they consider the Administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of State rights, the employment of unusual test-oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

*Resolved*, That the shameful disregard of the Administration to its duty in respect to our fellow citizens who now and long have been prisoners of war in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation, on the score alike of public interest and common humanity.

*Resolved*, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army who are and have been in the field under the flag of our country ; and, in the event of our attaining power, they will receive all the care and protection, regard and kindness, that the brave soldiers of the Republic have so nobly earned.

The platform was a compromise between the two fragments, one was represented by such men as Vallandigham and Pendleton. The former was made a Knight of the Golden Circle while exiled in the town of Windsor, C. W., by one Amos Green, Grand Master of the order for Illinois. The latter, Penilleton, had perhaps been a member of long stand-

ing ; this pair of political adventurers and their dupes went into the Chicago Convention, stripped to the waist, to battle for the South.

They held that any State, at its option, can pull the keystone from the Federal arch, even if the destruction of the entire fabric should be the result ; slavery they held to be a *beneficent* institution, and, like the leaders of the rebellion, believed it to be of divine origin ; rather than admit the right of the National Government to strike back, or admit slavery to be wrong, they justified the rebellion, and, with one accord, shouted, "*Let the South go !*"

They justified secession as constitutional, and slavery they held to be the law of God. With such opinions, cowardice was all that prevented them from shedding patriotic blood. These are the identical sentiments of Jeff. Davis, who sent Sanders, Thompson and Clay from Richmond, as commissioners to meet Vallandigham and other friends in Canada, there to engineer the assembling Democratic Convention. They ran up the white flag and cried "*peace*;" with them, *peace* and *disunion* meant the same ; *disunion*, they claimed, had already taken place, and if peace could be obtained while the rebel government was in full blast, its authority thereby would be acknowledged, and separation become eternal. Believing the nation disheartened, they thought to take advantage of the hour, and even had sufficient influence to get the insertion of that traitorous and cowardly clause, in the second resolution of the platform, which declares that "after four years of failure to restore the Union, by the experiment of war, &c." This clause in the resolution was inserted to dishearten the nation, to induce it to abandon the contest as hopeless ; it was also a thrust at the incapacity and inefficiency of the Federal army to cope with the rebels ; it conveyed the idea that no progress had been made, and insinuated that the rebellion was already a success. This assertion was not only a lie, but a slander, as the following facts plainly show. In 1861, when the rebellion became general, the territory under the control of the rebels amounted to a 1,653,852 square miles,



and the population numbered 12,121,294. The Federal army had already won back by the sword 1,311,184 square miles of territory, and brought back a population of 7,638,062, leaving, at the time of the assembling of the Chicago Convention, only 342,668 square miles of territory under rebel rule, with the reduced population of only 4,458,232 souls. Yet, in the face of all these facts, this traitorous clique compelled the Convention to gratify the rebels by declaring the war for the Union a failure. This was a great triumph for Jeff Davis.

Their hand was next seen in the nomination of one of their clan for Vice-President; the reasons for this are given more fully on pages 120 and 121. Their numerical strength was not so great as the McClellan party, but they were unscrupulous, energetic and desperate. The friends of McClellan did not dream of the plot. They thought very little of platforms, and thought very little of resolutions; they had unbounded confidence in him—but the *Knights* had every thing ready. He would, if elected, have been brushed away like a cobweb, and the treason of the Vice-President, through official position, would have sealed the doom of the republic.

McClellan's theory was to restore the Union by concessions and compromises with the South; he held that the Constitution itself was the creature of compromise. As a means of conciliation he was pledged to defend slavery by placing around it new guarantees. The proclamation of freedom issued by Lincoln was to be disavowed, and all the colored regiments (*numbering about 100,000 men*) in the Federal service were to be disbanded. All this was to be done as a measure of conciliation, to induce the rebels to stop the war. This gives the true meaning of the cant phrase "the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is." As an *additional* inducement for the traitors to stop whipping us, the Federal army was to be converted into a national police to *catch and return slaves* escaping from their masters.

All this being done, if the South still remained unreconciled, then the Federal army was, if possible, to be converted into an engine to crush out the anti-slavery sentiment in the free States.

Every honest man, who wanted to do unto the rest of the human race as he would have them do unto him, was to be hunted like a wild beast—all to appease the unnatural discontent of slavery. This feeling showed itself very prominently at Democratic meetings. "Hang Abe Lincoln," "hang Seward," "hang Sumner," "hang Wilson," "hang Garrison," "hang Beecher," "hang Cheever," "hang every d—d Abolitionist son of a b—h." Such was the then proposed Democratic way of stopping the war.

The Republican party they declared to be the cause of the war. Lincoln had no right to defend the national life. The war on his part was unconstitutional, wicked and malicious, and carried on by the fiendish spirit of abolitionism; that he was not conducting the war to restore the Union, but continuing it for the benefit of adventurers and shoddy contractors; that the South would make peace to-day if their constitutional rights were guaranteed. The enormous debt of England, about 4,000,000,000, was declared to be as nothing in comparison to the burden Lincoln was heaping on us; greenbacks and national bank money were denounced as valueless; the old banking institutions of the States were appealed to to act in self-defense by discrediting the Government currency; the shipping interest was drawn into the contest, and declared to have been neglected and ruined; the tax-gatherer was pointed at as little better than a highwayman; the President was charged with being a usurper and destroyer of civil liberty. If the orators and press of the Democratic party agreed in any one thing, it was in hating "Lincoln"—they hated his administration—they hated all he did and said—they hated the national government because he had control of it—they hated the war because he was conducting it—they hated the Union because he loved and was trying to save it—they despised liberty because he proclaimed it to be the natural inheritance of *all men*, black as well as white.

So infuriated were some of these madmen that they would have regarded it as a privilege to become slaves themselves rather than that the negro should be made free; some dreaded




negro competition—(shame)—they feared he might rival them in energy and ability. This class wanted the slave kept in slavery for self-protection. Every low and selfish interest was roused up in opposition to Mr. Lincoln. Resistance to the draft was counselled and advised. Democrats were told that they could get no office. McClellan, they said, had been removed from command of the army, because he was a good Democrat. The rebels in front of Petersburg, Va., September 2d, cheered when they heard of McClellan's nomination at Chicago. The foreign population were told that their friends in the army were put in front, with Democratic regiments, to do all the hard fighting. If an honest, straight forward man refused to act with the party, he was pointed at as one who had sold his birthright for greenbacks. Hopelessly demoralized themselves, they failed to destroy confidence in the Federal Government—they deserved *more than defeat*, and they got part of their deserts.

# THE CAMPAIGN

AS CONDUCTED BY

## THE UNION PARTY,

TERMINATING IN THE RE-ELECTION OF MR. LINCOLN  
FOR A SECOND TERM.



The party that bore in its bosom the patriotic heart of the nation, conscious of its strength, and confiding in the justice of its cause, made its nomination early. The demoralized Democracy hung back to see if anything would turn up ; and it was not until the 29th day of August that they entered the canvass. Lincoln had done many things during the term he had served, to enrage the traitors in the South, and vex their friends in the North. Suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, and the Proclamation of Freedom, were declared by them to be treason. Before either of these measures had been adopted, they plotted to take his life. He had to wade through treason to reach the chair of State.

It was a dark day in our country's history when an armed guard had to surround the hotel (Willard's) where the Chief Magistrate had taken temporary lodgings, to prevent his assassination. And on the day (4th March, '61,) of his Inauguration, he was escorted up Pennsylvania Avenue in a hollow square of cavalry, and the utmost vigilance was exercised by Gen. Scott to prevent his being publicly assassinated on the way to the Capitol, to deliver his Inaugural Address from the east portico. These were terrible times ; and, to add to his embarrassment, though unintentionally, Gen. Scott wrote a



letter the day before the inauguration, (March 3d,) directed to Wm. H. Seward, in which he pictures out a dark and gloomy future. "If the Government resorted to force, two or three years of war would leave devastated provinces without future hope of reconciling the Southern people to their conquerors." Viewing the future from this stand-point, Gen. Scott advised the incoming administration to say to the Southern States, "Wayward sisters, depart in peace."—*Second vol., page 628, Scott's Life.*

Such counsel, from so experienced a soldier and brave a man as Scott, would have staggered most men; but Mr. Lincoln pitted himself against all such weakness, and accepted war. The ideas of '76, and the accomplishments of '87, were too sacred to be abandoned without a struggle. Through his patriotism and invincible courage, he rallied the nation to its own defence. After twenty months of wavering and doubtful conflict, the star of success growing dim, in one of those moments when hope gives way to despair, and death is sought as a refuge, he grasped and threw into the struggle the ideas of '76. Though morally weakened by being used only as a war measure, yet, thus feebly touched, it electrified the nation. When the people heard above the din of battle the loud roar of the artillery of the colonial revolution, their patriotic enthusiasm commenced kindling to the skies. The evil political spirits of the present, and the apparitions of their kindred of the past, had to this time hung like an incubus around the President; but when he wrote "Freedom" across the front of his administration, they vanished before the brightness of the hour. In this elevated position, Moses-like, he learned the will of Heaven, and thus, through the following proclamation, gave it to the nation:

## THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*Whereas*, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a

Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit :

“That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be, thenceforth, and FOREVER FREE : and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

“That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.”

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed Rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said Rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaim for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above-mentioned order, and designate, as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit : ARKANSAS, TEXAS, LOUISIANA (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Palquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of Orleans, MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, NORTH CAROLINA, and VIRGINIA (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Nor-



folk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the the present, left precisely as if this Proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that ALL PERSONS HELD AS SLAVES within said designated States and parts of States, ARE, AND HENCE-FORWARD SHALL BE FREE! And that the Executive Government of the United States, including the Military and Naval Authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence, and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.—WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

*Secretary of State.*

Various were the opinions entertained of the utility of the above Proclamation. Some compared it to the Pope's bull against the comet. Many of the republican party despised it as a political document, but gave their assent to it as a war measure. But it soon became evident that it would live in history as the grandest achievement of his administration. So completely had it grown in favor with the people that, in a little over six months after it was issued, a Convention was called, in order that some marks of approval might be made manifest. With patriotic gratitude the people endorsed it,

not only as a War Measure, but as an act of *justice*, and renominated its great and beloved author for a second term without a dissenting voice.

The National Convention assembled at Baltimore on the 7th of June, 1864, and there nominated Abraham Lincoln for reelection as President, with Andrew Johnson as Vice President, and adopted and presented to the American people the following Platform :

*Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union, and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States ; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

*Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an "unconditional surrender" of their hostility, and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States ; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrifice, the patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

*Resolved* That, as Slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of Republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic ; and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit, the existence of Slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the American People are due



to the soldiers and sailors of the Army and Navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country, and in vindication of the honor of the flag ; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country ; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

*Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office ; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency, and essential to the preservation of the nation ; and as within the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes ; that we approve especially the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in Slavery ; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

*Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the National councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially endorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.

*Resolved*, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war ; and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war by the Rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of full and prompt redress.

*Resolved*, That the foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth and development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the Asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

*Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of a railroad to the Pacific.

*Resolved*, That the National faith, pledged for the redemption of the Public Debt, must be kept inviolate ; and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation ; that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the National Currency.

*Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States never regarded with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any Republican government on the western continent, and that they view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by a foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

The platform adopted at Philadelphia, June 18, 1856, with Fremont as candidate, set forth in the first resolution the principles of '76, and at Chicago, in May, 1860, the same principles were reiterated in the second resolution of the Republican Platform ; and at Baltimore in 1864, in the third resolution Slavery is declared to be hostile to republican government, whilst the platforms of 1856 and 1860 declared against slavery extension, they did not propose to legally disturb it in the slaveholding States, but the Baltimore Convention was consistent. The statutes had become fundamentally changed by the action of the slave States themselves in rebelling. The third resolution declares, as so do the rebels, that Slavery was the cause of the Rebellion. The Proclamation is endorsed in the resolution, not only as a *war measure*, but as an act of justice, and the extirpation of slavery from the soil of the Republic is demanded.

Public sentiment so completely endorsed the proclamation of freedom, that the Convention advanced with energy to the new position attained by the President. Many of his own party were opposed to enlisting liberated slaves in the Union army—but this policy was indorsed by the fifth resolution of the platform and that closed their mouths.

In adopting this measure, Mr Lincoln showed great ability



as the record of the 100,000 blacks now soldiers in the army of the Republic abundantly proves. Even the rebel General Lee, the ablest man engaged in the rebellion, in a letter, dated, C. S. Armies, Feb. 18th, 1865, to E. Barksdale, advocates the policy of arming the blacks, not only as necessary but expedient; but the slaveholders of the Gulf States at first opposed him and refused the demands of the rebel chief. Slavery, the cause of the rebellion, had already become chronic in the Southern Confederacy. The *Richmond Enquirer* of February 23d, 1865, claims that "Virginia did not commence the rebellion; neither did Tennessee, Missouri or Kentucky; but the Gulf States swore the oath of success or universal destruction. This oath has been broken and they by whom the first blow was struck are the first to desert." The above remarks were made on the defeat, by senators from the Gulf States, of the bill to arm the blacks, previously passed by the rebel house of representatives. The *Enquirer* continues: "Monday, the compact of mutual support was broken; the bill to appropriate the slaves so as to secure honorable existence, was defeated in the senate principally by senators from the Gulf States. Perhaps it would be well for the Gulf States to reconsider the vote. Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri and Kentucky will yet see that their people are not slaves in order that the inconveniences of war may not be felt on the Congaree and the Tombigbee."

The *Richmond Sentinel*, February 3d, 1865, Davis' organ, says:

"The soldiers from Texas, Mississippi, Kentucky, Georgia and Virginia have spoken in favor of arming the slaves. Gen. Lee has also requested that it should be done, the rebel house of representatives has taken affirmative action, but the senate is disappointing and delaying—are we to add, defeating."

Gov. Brown of Georgia about the same date discourses thus: "In a measure, whatever may be our opinion of their normal condition of interests, we cannot expect them to perform deeds of heroism when fighting to continue the enslavement of their wives and children; and it is not reasonable for us to demand

it of them. Whenever we establish the fact that they are a military people we destroy our theory that they are unfit to be free. When we arm the slaves we abolish slavery."

On March 8, 1865, the rebel senate was forced to pass the following bill :

The bill was then passed by yeas and nays as follows :

YEAS—Messrs. Brown, Burnett, Caperton, Henry, Hunter, Oldham, Semmes of Louisiana, Sims of Kentucky, Watson—9.

NAYS—Messrs. Barnwell, Graham, Johnson of Georgia, Johnson of Missouri, Maxwell, Orr, West, Wigfall—8.

On motion of Mr. GRAHAM, the Senate resolved itself into executive session.

The following is the bill to place negroes in the army, as it passed the Senate :

*A bill to Increase the Military Force of the Confederate States.*

The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact : That in order to provide additional forces to repel invasion, maintain the right to possession of the Confederate States, secure their independence and preserve their institutions, the President be and he is hereby authorized to ask for and accept from the owners of slaves the service of such number of able-bodied men as he may deem expedient, for and during the war, to perform military service in whatever capacity he may direct.

SEC. 2. That the General-in-Chief be authorized to organize the said slaves into companies, battalions, regiments and brigades, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, and to be commanded by such officers as the President may appoint.

SEC. 3. That while employed in the service, the said troops shall receive the same rations, clothing and compensation as are allowed to other troops in the same branch of the service.

SEC. 4. That if, under the previous sections of this act, the President shall not be able to raise a sufficient number of troops to prosecute the war successfully, and maintain the sovereignty of the States and the independence of the Confederate States, then he is hereby authorized to call on each State, whenever he thinks it expedient, for her quota of three hundred thousand troops, in addition to those subject to military service under existing laws, or as many thereof as the President may deem necessary to be raised from such classes of the population, irrespective of color, in each State, as the proper authorities thereof may determine ; *Provided,*



that no more than 25 per cent. of the male slaves between the ages of 18 and 45 in any State shall be called for under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 5. That nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize a change in the relation which the said slaves shall bear towards their owners, except by the consent of the owners and of the States in which they may reside, and in pursuance of the laws thereof.

The same cause that produced the rupture in the Union, is now a source of strife between the slave-breeding and the slave-buying States. The border States having already lost all for the sake of slavery, now discover that the Gulf States are unwilling to make the same sacrifice. Independence, if it has to be acquired by abolition, is not wanted by the Gulf States. Mr. Hunter of Virginia, remarked in discussing the passage of the negro soldier bill in the rebel Congress :

“When we left the old government, I thought we had got rid forever of the slavery agitation, that we were entering a new confederacy of homogeneous States upon the agitation of the slavery question, which had become intolerable under the old Union, was to have no place; but to my surprise I find that this government assumes the power to arm the slaves, which involves also the power of emancipation, to the agitation of this question, the assumption of this power, I date the origin of this gloom which overspreads our people. \* \* \* It is a clear claim of the central government to emancipate the slaves—if we are right in passing this measure we were wrong in denying to the old government the right to interfere with the institution of slavery, and to emancipate slaves ; besides if we offer slaves their freedom as a boon, we confess that we were insincere, were hypocritical in asserting that slavery was the best state for the negroes themselves. \* \* \* I consider the adoption of the measure as almost a virtual abandonment of the principles of the contest.”

Thus the reader can see the importance of Mr. Lincoln's course—first freeing, then arming the slaves. Politically these measures have ground the Confederacy to powder.

The Union party had followed Mr. Lincoln to an elevated

position: they had every advantage, in a moral sense, over their opponents, and could look down upon them revelling in their filthy vacillating political attire.

The Union party fought the political battle fair and square. It had no secrets to hide, but trusted all to the intelligence and virtue of the American people; its press and orators exposed the rottenness of their opponents; that the entire party was without one redeeming trait, and clearly demonstrated it to be only the northern and cowardly wing of the Rebellion. All the best qualities of human nature were appealed to. As to authority, they held to our Government from the Lakes to the Gulf, and that Government to guarantee and protect within its jurisdiction, without distinction of race or color *the liberty of man*. One emblem to represent it, and that the good old flag of our fathers, "the star-spangled banner." Men were constantly appealed to, to respect the rights of man, to act politically towards others as you would have others act towards you, to vindicate the national authority and honor, respect for the Constitution, and respect for even-handed justice, a sacerdotal reverence for the illustrious dead who fell in defense of the Government and flag—with a high appreciation of the valiant services of the gallant officers and brave men who had been and were yet in their country's service. Everything that was elevating to an American citizen, everything that was calculated to swell the manly heart, and light up the human soul, with a perfect disregard of self, men acted reckless of present consequences—they acted for posterity. This question had to be met some time, and they resolved to meet it then. Among the soldiers and sailors, all appeared to be animated with the spirit of patriotism and success; they all knew that on them depended the salvation of their country—they achieved victory, and thank God the nation still lives. It has passed through a crisis more beset with peril than ever experienced before. Independence is the child of Washington—but Lincoln is the father of Freedom.



# ORIGIN AND HISTORY

## OF THE

### AMERICAN UNION.

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Declaration of Independence, and War of the Revolution—Object of the League of 1778—The Constitution of 1789 ; Its adoption and defects—Presidential Elections—Party Names and Issues—Electoral Votes in full (1789 to 1864) from Washington to Lincoln.

Governments at best, are but necessary evils. Established on the ruins of liberty, they are curses in disguise. For ages man has struggled with tyranny. Defeated one day, he renews the conflict the next, until the struggle continues from father to son, from generation to generation. The tyranny of man is the bane of civilization ; its demands, no matter how unjust, like the yawning grave, can never be satisfied. The tyrant who wades through blood and slaughter to a throne, in order to make his yoke rest easy, flatters the weak side of human nature by making concessions to liberty, while his ignorant subjects, forgetting he stole the cow, receive back the calf as a kingly favor. Men exalted to places of honor and trust by the popular will, frequently barter away the interests of their constituency to pacify the avarice of a restless and designing aristocracy.

This should not be. Neither the pompous aristocrat or professional beggar has any special claims for legislative regard ; but *Industry, Religion, Enterprise* and *Education*, which are the life and salvation of the industrial middle classes, should receive the fostering care of the State. These all

harmonize with nature and the divine will, and are the bulwarks of civilization. Without them popular government would be only anarchy. They are the sentinels on the watch-towers of Freedom, the richest jewels of Republican civilization. A government sparkling all over with these Christian diadems would be as fixed and lasting as the firmament, while its dazzling splendor would sparkle throughout all time. Providence had reserved its richest earthly inheritance as a place of refuge from the tyranny of kings.

Here in America, was to be developed the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man. The Anglo Saxon in 1620, with his ideas of liberty, landed at Plymouth Rock; while the Norman, with his Feudalism, in 1607, had settled on the James. The Dutch, in 1609, with their peculiar ideas of liberty for the white man, settled on the Hudson. When these different colonies began to increase and spread over an extended surface, necessity in government, as in everything else, became the mother of invention. In order more effectually to protect the Colonies against depredations from the Indian tribes, the Anglo Saxon descendants of the Pilgrims, inhabiting *Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut* and *New Haven*, while owing allegiance to the British Crown, in 1643, formed themselves into a League, styled the *United Colonies of New England*. The object of this association was self-protection. It lasted upwards of forty years, and was the first idea of Union that our history gives any account of. This League was dissolved by King James in 1686.

The next account we have of an effort to renew the League, was a Convention at Albany in 1722; then, again, on a more extended scale at the same place, in 1754. The dread by the mother country of a war with France, was what brought this Convention together. It was to devise means to protect America, by making treaties with the Indian tribes to prevent them, if possible, from enlisting under the banner of the French. This Union was to embrace all the Colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia; but disputes about boundaries ran so high that the League was too weak to stand up, and Dr.



Franklin, in 1761, remarked that only some grievous tyranny could force a Union.—*Kent's Historical Lectures*, 1795.

The Stamp Act of the British Government ordained that no sale, bond, note of hand, or other instrument of writing, shall be valid unless executed on paper bearing the stamp prescribed by the home government. This received the royal assent, March 23, 1765, and on the 7th October, same year, twenty-seven delegates met in New York to implore relief. This assemblage is known in history as the Congress of 1765. The assembly claimed that the right to tax the Colonies resided in the colonial Legislatures. The eloquence of Wm. Pitt and Lord Camden brought about the repeal of the Stamp Act in the British Parliament. But a new Ministry in 1767, succeeded in getting through the House of Commons a bill to tax the *tea* imported into the American Colonies, which received the royal assent.

At this last imposition the feelings of the Colonies began to grow hot. Lord North was now at the head of affairs, and he determined to show them no leniency. Enthusiastic meetings were held in Boston, Mass., in the latter part of the year 1769, which foreshadowed the coming struggle.

\* In 1620 slavery had been introduced into Virginia by the Dutch, and, like the small-pox, it soon spread throughout the Colonies. One hundred and thirty years after, the *Boston Gazette*, of Tuesday, Nov. 20th, 1750, contained the following advertisement. The paper is now in possession of William C. Nell, Esq.—*Black Man, by Brown*, page 107.

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

“Ran away from his master, William Browne, Farmingham, on the 30th of September last, a mulatto fellow about 27 years of age, named *Crispus*, well set, six feet two inches high, short curled hair, knees nearer together than common, had on a light-colored bearskin coat, brown fustian jacket, buckskin breeches, blue yarn stockings, and checked shirt. Whoever will take up said runaway, and convey to his above said master, at Farmingham, shall have ten pounds, old tenor reward, and all necessary charges paid.”

Twenty years after the foregoing advertisement appeared,

the fires of the Revolution began to burn. British troops were being concentrated in Boston, to extinguish the flame with patriotic blood. On the 5th of March, 1770, Captain Preston, with a body of red coats, tried to preserve order. At Dock Square and the Custom House, large crowds were to be seen throughout the day, eager to take part in the coming contest. The sun had sunk below the horizon, and the shadows of the night, so big with fate, had already approached. The lamps in Dock Square were lit, and threw their light in the angry faces of the discontented crowd, who only waited to be led against the British troops. A part of Captain Preston's company, while making their way from the Custom House, were met by the crowd from Dock Square, headed by the black man, *the slave*, Crispus Attucks, who, with a shout of defiance, cried: "Let us drive these rebels away; they have no business here." The crowd followed their enthusiastic leader, when the soldiers under Preston appeared to give way. Attucks, seeing this, became more daring, urging his followers not to be afraid, but to come on, "They dare not shoot; we'll drive them out of Boston." These were the last words heard from his lips. Two balls, from British muskets, pierced his sable breast. The sharp crack of the musket drowned his patriotic voice, and *Crispus Attucks*, the runaway slave, became the first martyr to American liberty. Thus was inaugurated the Revolution, which took the brightest jewel from the British Crown. There was force in the remark of the Earl of Shelburne, when, in his reply to the Duke of Richmond, he said: "*The sun of Great Britain will set whenever she acknowledges the Independence of America.*"

The flames of discontent began to increase after the massacre of the 5th of March, 1770. The tea was thrown overboard in Boston harbor, December 16th, 1773; on the 31st of March, 1774, the Boston Port Bill was passed; on September 4th, of the same year, the Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia; on the 19th of April, 1775, the battle of Lexington was fought—American loss, 84; British, 245; May 10th, the Provincials took Ticonderoga.



The colonies had not yet chosen a Commander-in-chief, and it was while in session in Philadelphia, on June 15th, 1775, that George Washington was nominated, by Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, and was unanimously chosen. Washington owed his appointment to the New England delegation, headed by John Adams.—*Statesman's Manual*, vol. I, page 55.

Four days after his appointment Washington received his Commission, and on the 20th of June he left Philadelphia to join the Continental army, at Cambridge, near Boston, Mass. The battle of Bunker's Hill, June 17th, 1775, was fought before Washington arrived in Massachusetts. Prescott was the American commander ; his loss was 453. British commanded by Howe, loss 1054. On July 2d, Washington arrived at Cambridge, and took command of the army. All the foregoing engagements were fought before his arrival. General Montgomery was master of Montreal, and Col. Arnold was organizing, at Newburyport, a company of one thousand men to march on Quebec. Among his band of patriots were many bold and daring men, one of the most conspicuous of whom was *Aaron Burr*, a lad of great promise, not yet twenty years of age. He came from Litchfield, Connecticut, where he had for a short time been reading law, with Mr. Tappin Reeve. On the 20th of September, 1775, Col. Arnold, with eleven hundred men, started from Newburyport on the intended expedition. In a few days this army was beyond the outposts of Civilization, and struggling through the great wilderness on its way to Quebec. For thirty-two days they saw no trace of a human being. Starvation came, and they were forced to live upon dogs, reptiles, and even devoured the leather of their shoes and cartridge-boxes. After marching 600 miles through a lonely wilderness, and losing one-half of his army, just fifty days after leaving Newburyport, Col. Arnold arrived in sight of the heights of Quebec. Young Burr was selected by his commander to communicate the news of his arrival to General Montgomery, at Montreal—distance 120 miles. Knowing that the French were not satisfied with English rule, Burr exhibited great tact in assuming the garb of a

young Catholic Priest. In this manner, with his knowledge of Latin, he was enabled to deceive priests and people. He was conducted by his guide from one religious family to another. At Three Rivers suspicion became aroused, and the guide, fearing the consequences, refused to proceed. Burr was concealed for three days in a convent at Three Rivers, at the end of which time the guide, without further trouble, conducted him to Montreal. The gallant Irishman, Montgomery, was so delighted with Burr that he placed him on his staff, as general's aid-de-camp, with the rank of captain. It was now the month of November, and the ground was covered with snow; yet Montgomery set out with 300 men, himself at their head, and reached Arnold's camp, before Quebec, in the early part of December.

On the 20th of the month all was ready, and on the 31st, amid the chilling ice and northeasterly snow storm, which served to drive even animals created for these climes to their accustomed retreats, leaving the patriotic band unprotected in the dead of night, to brave the dreadful weather. Just before the day dawned Montgomery, with Burr at his side, moved to the attack. As the column began to move Montgomery cried, "*Push on, brave boys, Quebec is ours!*" The column advanced up to within forty paces of the block house. At first, the British troops, mostly composed of sailors and militia, fled in terror from the guns. The American army, not understanding how matters stood, was slow to move, when a sailor, to discover the reason, ventured back. He saw through the port holes of the block house the advancing party, and turned to run. Before leaving, his dusky form stood trembling, as if chained by demons to the spot to wait till fate came up. He fired the grape-charged 12-pound cannon, and the great Montgomery fell, who, with two of his aids and an orderly sergeant, never again saw the light of the sun. The column, aware of the loss, halted and wavered. Burr made an effort to rally the men, but the enemy opened fire, and it could not be done. A panic seized them, and they sought safety in flight. Stretched on the ground, in his



snowy shroud, lay the majestic form of Montgomery. Burr seized and shouldered up his glorious load, and, amid snow knee deep, ran with it down the gorge—the enemy, in hot pursuit. The weight was too great, and little Burr was compelled to drop his priceless treasure in the snow.

The American force remained in Canada, annoying the garrison at Quebec till the spring of 1776, when they had to retire before the new army under Burgoyne. In the meantime, on the 17th of March, the British evacuated Boston. General Washington had gathered about 20,000 men, and on the 2d of March commenced a heavy cannonading on the British lines. General Howe had made arrangements in February to evacuate. His army was about 10,000 strong, with about 1,000 Tories. In seventy-eight ships and transports they sailed for Halifax. General Washington, fearing Howe had sailed for New York, immediately directed the army to march. The Legislature of Massachusetts, and the Continental Congress, both congratulated Washington on the glorious termination of the siege of Boston.

The military operations thus far had been in favor of the colonies, yet no definite mould had been prepared in which to cast the new government ; and it was not until the 4th day of July, 1776, that the foundation was laid for the great Republic. The struggle of arms was still progressing. The battle of *Flatbush*, L. I., was fought August 12th, 1776 ; British, Howe, loss 400 ; American, Putnam and Sullivan, 2,000. *White Plains*, October 28th, 1776 ; American, Washington, 300 to 400 ; British, Howe, 300 to 400. *Trenton*, December 25th, 1776 ; American, Washington, 9 ; British, Rahl, 1000. *Princeton*, Jan. 3d, 1777 ; American, Washington, 100 ; British, Mawhood, 400. *Bennington*, Aug. 16th, 1777 ; American, Stark, 100 ; British, Baum and Beman, 600. *Brandywine*, Sept. 11th, 1777 ; British, Howe, 500 ; American, Washington, 1,000. *Germantown*, Oct. 4th, 1777 ; British, Howe, 600 ; American, Washington, 1,200. *Stillwater*, October 17th, 1777 ; American, Gates, 350 ; British, Burgoyne, 600, and 5,752 men

surrendered. *Monmouth*, June 25th, 1778 ; American, Washington, 230 ; British, Clinton, 400 ; *Rhode Island*, Aug. 29th, 1778 ; American, Sullivan, 211 ; British, Pigott, 260. *Briar Creek*, March 30th, 1779 ; British, Prevost, 16 ; American, Ash, 300. *Stony Point*, July 15th, 1779 ; American, Wayne, 100 ; British, 600. *Camden*, August 16, 1780 ; British, Cornwallis, 375 ; American, Gates, 720. *Cowpens*, Jan. 17th, 1781 ; American, Morgan, 72 ; British, Tarleton, 800. *Guilford Court House*, March 15th, 1781 ; American, Greene, 400 ; British, Cornwallis, 523. *Eutaw Springs*, September 8th, 1781 ; American, Greene, 555 ; British, Stewart, 1,000.

The war was brought to a close by the surrender, at Yorktown, of Cornwallis, and 7,073 British soldiers, to Gen. Washington, October 19th, 1781.

Benedict Arnold, who organized the force and conducted the campaign against Quebec, planned the capture of Ticonderoga, and entered the fort side by side with Ethan Allen. Brave when in command of the fleet on the lakes, and at Behemi's Heights, Oct. 7th, 1777, in front of his column, cheered and urged on his men, receiving a severe wound in his leg. He married a Miss Shippen, of Philadelphia, allied by kindred with royalty, and a great pet of the British officers. No doubt his connection with this woman proved his ruin ; but she stuck to him through every adversity, and shared with him the fate of his treason and disgrace. At West Point, with Andre and Sir Henry Clinton, he consummated his infamy, and published a letter in New York, advising the people to return to their loyalty to the British Crown. He was born in Norwich, Connecticut, Jan. 3d, 1740, and died, an outcast, in London, June 14th, 1801, in the 61st year of his age.

The expense of the Revolution, estimated in specie, was \$135,193,702 90. The paper money, called *Continental*, was first issued in 1775 ; and in 1777 it began to depreciate in value. Its decline was rapid. In six years, from 1775 to 1781, \$362,547,037 05 had been issued. Its discount for specie, Jan. 1st, 1777, was only five per cent ; one year from that date, 210 per cent ; Jan. 1778 it reached 534 ; in 1779, 2,493 ; Jan. 1st, 1780, 7,300.



In February, 1781, it took \$7,500 in Continental money to purchase \$100 in specie ; and in March it was worthless.

Provisional Articles of peace were signed in Paris, Nov. 30, 1782, by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Lusecnes, on the part of the United States, and Mr. Fitz Herbert and Mr. Oswald, on the part of Great Britain. The definite Treaty was signed September 30th, 1783 ; after which it was officially proclaimed by Congress, and announced by Washington to the army, October 18, 1783, wherein was declared the Independence of the United States. It was first acknowledged by France ; then by Holland, on the 19th of April, 1782 ; by Sweden, Feb. 5th, 1782 ; by Denmark, Feb. 25th, 1782 ; by Spain, March 24th, same year ; by Russia in July, 1783 ; and Prussia in 1785.

The entire population of the thirteen Colonies, in 1790, was 3,043,000. During the trying times of the Revolution, and in order to assist in achieving American Independence, Articles of Confederation were adopted at Philadelphia in 1778. This League adopted UNITED STATES OF AMERICA as the style of the Confederacy. It was simply a Union for defence ; as the 2d Article asserts that each State retains its sovereignty ; not a new government, but an agreement between old ones for general protection against foreign powers. They took the model from the Batavian and Helvetic Confederacies. It lasted only ten years, and served as a temporary preservation of society ; but the wise saw that it could not be durable. Without sufficient power for self-protection, foreign powers looked upon it with contempt. The disputes of the States, and bitter wrangling in their sovereign capacity about what was to be done with the Crown Lands, caused them to view the League with a jealous eye. Maryland refused to sign the Articles of Confederation until March 1st, 1781, four years and four months after Congress had declared their adoption was essential to *union, liberty, and safety*. Benjamin Franklin saw, better than any other man at the time, the incohesiveness of rival sovereignties. They had already caused combinations preventing the collection of taxes, refusing protection to commerce, pro-

claiming disunion, and threatening insurrection. From 1643 to 1778 all efforts of the Colonies to continue united, after the dangers calling them together had passed, were ineffectual; and this last effort at harmonizing rival sovereignties, under the Articles of Confederation, after less than ten years of precarious existence, sickened and died of the same malady.

Hamilton, Madison, and Jay saw the defects. Washington himself was pained to see that after the sacrifices he and his gallant army had made on the many bloody battle-fields, through a seven years' war, to gain independence, his country, which had emblazoned on its victorious banner the sacred rights of human nature, was now engaged in quarreling over supposed rights of *petty sovereignties*, and refusing to do justice to the surviving patriots of the Revolution. The Revolutionary period, which should date from the 5th of November, 1770, lasted to the first of the same month, 1781. The League, which terminated March 4, 1789, was now to be followed by the formation of a *National Government*. The Union itself was in the agonies of death.

To remedy the evils that were every day accumulating, a Convention was called to meet at Annapolis, Md., in September, 1786. Five States only sent delegates. They adjourned to meet delegates from all the States, in Philadelphia, on the second Monday of May, 1787.

State sovereignty had already denied and shoved aside the truths of the Declaration of Independence, and broken the bond of Union established in 1778. The corpse was there, but its spirit had fled. The address adopted by the Annapolis Convention, and addressed to the Legislatures of the different States, represented in the Convention, spoke of the dangers which threatened them, as follows: "They are, however, of a nature so serious, as, in the view of your Commissioners, renders the situation of the United States delicate and critical, calling for an exertion of the united virtue and wisdom of all the members of the Confederacy."

The Convention assembling at Philadelphia was itself the creation of State sovereignty, appointed by the Legis-



latures of the different States. They did not emanate from the people, but from the same source as did the members that formed the League of 1778; and many of the members wanted to substitute for the Constitution the old Articles of Confederation, with additional power to Congress.

Some of the delegates were determined that the new government should, like the Declaration of Independence, emanate directly from the people, and that State sovereignty, that had proved the death of all previous Unions, should not form the basis of this now about to be established. Washington was chosen president, and the Convention continued in session about four months.

Thus the Federalists, to get rid of State sovereignty, and establish a strong government, set forth in the preamble to the Constitution, that "*We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*"

The Anti-Federalists and States' Rights party contended that the preamble should read: "*We, the States of New Jersey, Virginia, South Carolina, &c., in order to form a more perfect Union,*" &c.

JUDICIAL CONSTRUCTIONS.—"The Constitution of the United States was ordained and established, not by the United States in their sovereign capacity, but, as the preamble declares, by the people of the United States."—*History and Analysis of the Constitution, by Towle, page 39.*

The Federalists gained a great point in announcing that the instrument had been made by the *people* for the States. Their opponents wanted it understood that it was made by the States for the people.

But, notwithstanding the important position gained by the Federalists in the start, every step of advance was hotly contested by their opponents, who forced a compromise. The result was that many of the existing evils served as materials,

which, when placed together, destroyed the beauty and durability of the structure. Being the creature of compromise, its existence could not survive the material from which it was made.

*Dates of its Ratification by the Thirteen Old States.*

Delaware, Dec. 7, 1787 ; Pennsylvania, Dec. 12, 1787 ; New Jersey, Dec. 18, 1787 ; Georgia, Jan. 2, 1788 ; Connecticut, Jan. 9, 1788 ; Massachusetts, Feb. 6, 1788 ; Maryland, April 28, 1788 ; South Carolina, May 23, 1788 ; New Hampshire, June 21, 1788 ; Virginia, June 26, 1788 ; New York, July 26, 1788 ; North Carolina, Nov. 21, 1789 ; Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.

Aaron Burr predicted, at the time, that it would not last fifty years. In after times he said, "I was mistaken ; it will eventually last longer than that. But I was mistaken only in point of time ; the crash will come, but not quite so soon as I thought."—*Parton's Life of Burr*, page 172.

Burr, whatever faults he had, was clear headed. It lasted just twenty-four years longer than he first predicted. It ceased to preserve the peace of the country in 1861, and was shut out from performing its functions over more than half of the national domain for the term of four years. The Nation has preserved, by the sword, all its organic *virtues*, while its anti-republican features must forever remain blotted out by the blood shed to preserve it.

While the Federal party, headed by Washington, Hamilton, and Madison, celebrated its adoption with joy, the other party (Anti-Federals) viewed it as a calamity. A Federal procession in Providence, Rhode Island, was stopped and compelled to omit all reference to the Constitution in its celebrating programme. In Albany, N. Y., the Constitution was publicly burned in the streets. In Poughkeepsie, Greenleaf's *Political Register* was destroyed by a mob because it opposed the Constitution and vilified its supporters. Charges of bribery and fraud were everywhere heard, with threats of an immediate dissolution of the Union. Disputes about territorial jurisdic-



tion, and boundaries between the States, and between them and the United States, formed a leading element of discord, and helped to bring about the wretched condition of the country.

This question, that had done so much to make disaffection under the League, was happily settled by ceding all the Territories belonging to the several States to the General Government, and is known as the Ordinance of 1787. It was passed two months and four days before the adoption of the Constitution.

Thirteen sovereignties, with an organized militia, and all the paraphernalia of independent authority, like jealous women, are always on the alert.

The right to hold slaves was left to the States. The right to give capital thus invested in human flesh and blood a representation in Congress, while that invested in lands, tenements, and merchandize, was denied the same advantage, proved to be the deadly weapon which our fathers left in the temple. It has long been in dispute; and at last was seized by the conspirators, and used with such desperation to destroy the mighty fabric, the American Union.

Thomas Jefferson was ambassador to France from 1785 to 1789, and did not assist in forming the Constitution. Washington was selected by the State Legislatures as a candidate for President, and John Adams as a candidate for Vice President, both strong Federalists. Only ten States participated in the Presidential election. New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island did not ratify the Constitution in time to vote for President in 1789. Seven candidates ran, but received but little support. Washington and Adams were triumphantly elected. The seat of government was at this time in the city of New York; old Federal Hall, corner of Nassau and Wall streets, where the Treasury building now stands, was the place of meeting. On the 30th of April, 1789, Washington was sworn in by Robert R. Livingston, who, at the close of the ceremony, exclaimed aloud, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States. This harmless declaration

was caught up by the Anti-Federalists, and construed to intimate a desire on the part of the Federalists to make Washington King.

During his first term the Constitution, that had been so lately opposed, was growing in favor, and the Anti-Federal party becoming unpopular. They had become odious as Anti-Federalists, and, at the election of 1793, called themselves Republicans. They had strong affinities towards the French Revolutionists, as the change in their name indicated.

Hamilton, who was an able man and a strong Federalist, was represented to have a high opinion of the British system, or what Burke called the British Constitution. This supposed affinity of leading Federalists with British institutions told hard against the party, and Washington's second term was a stormy one. Old opponents of the Federal party, by denouncing it as the party of monarchy, had acquired considerable strength under their new name. Washington issued two proclamations in August and September, 1794, to warn the whisky insurrectionists of Western Pennsylvania (Washington and Allegheny counties.) This arrayed against him the whisky boys generally, and it was with difficulty that many of the most important measures of the administration were carried. The average annual expense of his administration was \$1,986,588. The seat of government was now in Philadelphia.

Adams, the Federalist, was elected as Washington's successor in 1797, but with only three majority over Jefferson, the Republican, who became the Vice President. Mr. Adams, though absent when the Constitution was made, and first seeing it in a foreign country, said: "*It was not then, nor has it been since, any objection, in my mind, that the Executive and Senate were not more permanent.*"—*Inaugural Address, March 4, 1797.* During his administration there were precautionary measures taken to meet a French war. The *alien* and *sedition* laws were passed by Congress in the summer of 1798. The alien law empowered the President to order aliens who were supposed to be in conspiracy against the United States to de-



part from its territories. The sedition law, it was claimed, restricted the liberty of speech and the press. With these unpopular measures, and disaffection among his Cabinet officers, Hamilton came out against him, and threw his influence in favor of Pinckney. This, with other unfortunate combinations, secured his defeat for a second term.

Bradford's History remarks: "By the prudent and pacific, yet firm and decided measures of the Federal Government for twelve years, the character of the United States had become highly respectable among the greatest statesmen of Europe. Its policy exhibited a happy union of energy and magnanimity, and it was respected alike for its wisdom and power. The nation was placed in a commanding attitude of defence, while liberty, peace, and improvement were everywhere witnessed within its jurisdiction. Public credit had been fully established, and able and faithful men had been selected for public agents—men whose patriotism had been proved by eight years service devoted to their country's welfare."

The Republican party, which had so dreaded centralization and monarchy, became tired of the old system of State Legislatures indicating Presidential candidates. They snatched this small perquisite, and introduced, in Philadelphia, in 1800, the aristocratic system of nominating Presidential candidates by Congressional caucus. 37 Representatives and 9 Senators thus met and nominated Jefferson for President and Aaron Burr for Vice President. Thus the party that so much dreaded Federal power and centralization was the first to use it to dictate to the States Presidential candidates. The election resulted in favor of the caucus nomination. Jefferson and Burr had each 73 electoral votes. Adams, the Federalist candidate, had only 65, and was beaten. The House of Representatives continued to ballot from February 11th to the 17th (six days) to determine whether Jefferson or Burr should be President. This bold attempt by a party in the House of Representatives to counteract and resist the clearly expressed will of the people led to the adoption of this amendment: "The time for the meeting of the electors is the first Wednesday in December,

and the time for counting the votes is the second Wednesday in February."—1 *Stat.* 239.

Many of the Federalists went over to the support of Burr, believing that more might be expected in that direction than from Jefferson. Burr would have secured the election without any effort on his part, if it had not been for Hamilton opposing him. He might have secured it, even against Hamilton's influence, if he had went into the contest himself, but he remained at Albany all the time during the balloting, and there does not remain any evidence that he ever solicited a single vote. He was charged with intriguing to secure the votes of New Jersey, Vermont, and Rhode Island. Matthew Lyon declared that John Brown, of Rhode Island, urged him to vote for Colonel Burr, using these words: "What is it you want, Colonel Lyon? Is it office? Is it money? Say what you want, and you shall have it." But Judge Cooper, in a letter to Mr. Morris, February 12, declares: "Had Burr done anything for himself, he would long ere this have been President."—*Parton's Life of Burr*, p. 289.

Colonel Burr, on the 16th of December, 1800, addressed a letter to Gen. S. Smith, of Baltimore, then a member of the House of Representatives, in which he disclaimed all competition with Jefferson: "As to my friends," he says, "they would dishonor my views and insult my feelings by a suspicion that I would submit to be instrumental in counteracting the rules and expectations of the United States."—*Statesman's Manual*, page 313.

It was Jefferson's enemies, and not Aaron Burr that tried to defeat the will of the nation.

The National Government had now been moved from Philadelphia to Washington. In 1796 there had sprung up in the West and South-west a party which favored separation of that Territory from the Union. Among the most prominent members was Gen. Wilkinson, the Commander-in-chief of the United States army, and Daniel Clark, a very wealthy merchant of New Orleans, and father of Mrs. Gaines. He had amassed a large fortune, for which his daughter has so long



contended in the courts. When Jefferson came into office he was in the 58th year of his age. His election had been secured by bitter party strife. There were, at this period, published in the United States, about 180 newspapers, controlled mostly by aliens. The reaction in the tone of the press against Mr. Adams, on account of the alien and sedition laws, was like an avalanche.

Most of the officers of the General Government had received their appointment from Washington. Mr. Adams removed scarcely any during his term of office. Mr. Jefferson began his administration under these peculiar circumstances, and commenced to turn out Federalists and put Republicans in their places. This soon had the effect of making speedy conversions of Federal office-holders, who suddenly became Republicans for the sake of office.

In 1795, Spain had granted the right to the United States of making New Orleans a place of deposit for three years, with an agreement to renew in 1802. The Spanish Intendant declared, by proclamation, that the right no longer existed. This caused a *furore* of excitement in the Western States, and along the valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries. Congress was beset with petitions of grievances. The excitement was brought to its full height in December, 1802, when Jefferson, in his annual message, first communicated to Congress that Spain had ceded Louisiana to France. A peculiar combination of circumstances surrounded this Louisiana question. Few of the statesmen at that time thought it politic to enlarge the area of the national domain. It was the need of a free outlet to our commerce that influenced the administration. Livingston, our Minister at Paris, advised the seizure of New Orleans by force, as he thought it could never be acquired by treaty.

Napoleon Bonaparte was then Consul of France, and his country was about embarking in a war with England. It was made known to him that if this arrangement of ceding New Orleans was not carried out, the United States would be forced to make an alliance with Great Britain. When this

was understood, Napoleon ordered the Marquis de Marbois to negotiate with the American Minister. They, who were only negotiating for New Orleans and its surroundings, and the right to navigate the river, were surprised when the Marquis de Marbois told them he was ready to treat for Louisiana. The Treaty was concluded April 30, 1803, and signed by the Ministers, Mr. Livingston and Mr. Monroe, on the part of the United States, and the Marquis de Marbois on the part of France, four days afterwards. The price paid by the American Government was \$15,000,000.

Napoleon remarked : "*This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride.*" The area of the country ceded was estimated to exceed a million square miles. The inhabitants were mostly Indians, except about 90,000 French and their descendants, Spanish, English, Germans, and Americans, owning about 40,000 slaves. Hostilities between England and France commenced on the 22d of May, 1803. On that very day Bonaparte, without waiting for the United States, ratified the Louisiana Treaty.

Captains Lewis and Clarke were sent on an expedition to the new Territories. On the 14th of May, 1804, they left the banks of the Mississippi. The party consisted of about thirty persons, and were absent two years and three months.

The excitement attending Jefferson's first election was sought as a pretext to amend the Constitution, so as to designate which person was voted for as President, and which as Vice President. The Federal party opposed it, alleging that the Constitution contemplated that two persons equally qualified for the office of Chief Magistrate should be voted for. But the amendment was agreed to by the votes of two-thirds of the members of Congress, and was ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States. Massachusetts, Delaware and Connecticut disapproved of the change. It forms the 12th Article of the amendments to the Constitution.

Aaron Burr, Vice President, who had produced so much ex.



citement at the outset of Jefferson's administration, had been goaded into a quarrel by Alexander Hamilton. Burr was not a vicious man, but his antagonist was unscrupulous in the means he used to defeat an adversary. Burr sent a challenge to Hamilton. It was accepted ; and the duel was fought July 11, 1804, on the heights of Weehawken, New Jersey. Hamilton fell at the first fire. From this day forward, vituperation and calumny followed the name of Aaron Burr.

Jefferson's first term being very popular with the people, he was re-nominated for a second term. Vice President Burr, having lost the confidence of the Republican leaders, was shoved aside, and George Clinton, of New York, was placed on the ticket. Pinckney, of South Carolina, for President, and Rufus King, of New York, for Vice President, were the Federal candidates. The people sustained Jefferson's administration, and he was triumphantly re-elected. The caucus system, that had been introduced by the Republican leaders for nominating candidates for President and Vice President, was now used by them to control Congress. The most important measures had previously been agreed upon by the Republican members in private caucus, before they came before that body. An effort was made by Jefferson, in the latter part of his first term, and the commencement of his second, in 1805, to purchase Florida from Spain, but it did not succeed. Efforts were renewed in 1817, and finally carried to a successful termination on February 19, 1821.

It was in the latter half of the year 1805, that Aaron Burr, chagrined at the bad treatment he had received at the hands of Federal and Republican politicians, which had now been renewed with great effect on account of his duel with Hamilton, charged the monopolizing of all the Federal offices by the politicians of Virginia and New England. His enemies charged him with creating sectional feeling, and said this was seized on by Burr and his associates as a pretext for forming a great Southwestern confederacy or kingdom.

Burr arrived in New Orleans on the 25th of June, 1805, sixty-seven days from the time he left Philadelphia. General

Wilkinson had given him a letter to Mr. Clark, who had already made a voyage to Vera Cruz, Mexico, to spy out the land. Burr remained in New Orleans about three weeks, arranging with Mr. Clark. He left there in July, and on the 6th of August reached Nashville, Tennessee, and domiciled one week with Andrew Jackson.

The feeling against the Spanish was very great, and adventurers from Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas, were all to be enriched by the plunder of Spanish countries west of the Mississippi river. This glittering bribe, his enemies said, was held out as an inducement for the Western States to separate from the Union. New Orleans, they said, was to be the seat of government or empire.

Burr purchased 400,000 acres of land on the banks of the Washita river, a branch of the Red river, for \$40,000, although he never paid but \$5,000. This was to furnish a place of rendezvous for all the chosen spirits engaged in the enterprise to assemble and fortify. Another rendezvous was at Blennerhasset's Island, on the Ohio, a few miles below Marietta. This island was named after its occupant, an Irish gentleman, who, with a good-natured wife, had made a home in this romantic spot. About 500, in all, knew of Burr's plans, and this island became a rendezvous for many of the adventurers, until they eat Blennerhasset out of house and home. Burr's plans were for Blennerhasset to get what men he could together, and float down the Ohio in boats building for the purpose at Marietta, while he and his Tennessee friends would descend the Cumberland. But as the time approached Burr was not sustained (perhaps betrayed is the better word) by his leading associates. Wilkinson forsook him, and sent Lieutenant Smith with a message to President Jefferson. He left camp, at New Orleans, October 21, 1806, and delivered the despatches to the President, in Washington, on the 25th of November, and on the 27th Jefferson issued his proclamation, which created intense excitement. Burr's name was not mentioned in the proclamation. It merely announced that an unlawful enterprise was on foot in the Western States, and warned all persons to withdraw from it immediately.



Burr's cypher letter to Gen. Wilkinson, and General Eaton's testimony, is what convinced the people of the United States that Aaron Burr was a *traitor*. After his arrest, in Mississippi Territory, the Grand Jury acquitted him, remarking that Aaron Burr had not been guilty of any crime. He was re-arrested in Alabama, and brought to Richmond, Virginia, in May, 1807, when he was again put on trial, which lasted several days. Jefferson, always believing that Burr attempted to cheat him out of the election of 1800, was anxious to have him convicted, but Burr, with his able counsel, so managed his case that Judge Marshall charged the Jury in such a way that they rendered their verdict: "*We, of the Jury, say Aaron Burr is not proved to be guilty, under the indictment, by any evidence submitted to us. We therefore find him not guilty.*"

Although Burr was not convicted, he suffered the odium of a traitor even until the day of his death. He had fought with great bravery to achieve American Independence, and, in his early days, was the most promising statesman of his time. His great abilities were dreaded by the leaders of both parties, and the unfortunate circumstances occurring in the balloting for President organized the entire Republican party, headed by the administration, against him. The fatal duel with Hamilton (although the practice was not then unpopular) united the Federalists to complete his political ruin. Disappointed and defeated, he became disgusted with what he considered ingratitude on the part of his country. He conceived the idea of revolutionizing Spanish America, and establishing a new government over Mexico. His enemies (and they were legion) said monarchy was to be the form; while his intimate friends (they were few but ardent) declared he contemplated conquest and ultimate union of Mexico with the United States.

Burr saw that annexation was only a question of time, and his calculations, then so novel and startling, have, through the annexation of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, New Mexico and California, now passed into history. Who of us, in 1865, are so blind as not to discern the destiny of Mexico? *Maximillian* may be very clever, and the Mexican people may have much

to learn ; but neither his ability nor their ignorance can stand against the expansion of our free institutions. His visionary throne (although backed up by some of the monarchies of the old world) will disappear like a shadow at noonday. *For the fates have decreed that wherever American blood is shed that soil becomes sacred to liberty. Palo Alto, Buena Vista, Vera Cruz, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chepultepec, Puebla, and Cerro Gordo* are places sacred to the people of the United States. There sleeps beneath their sod thousands of our countrymen, who, while living, fought to uphold our flag, and their bones now lie neglected in a foreign soil. Fidelity to American ideas, respect to the brave, our duty to ourselves and posterity, and sympathy for the down-trodden Mexicans, all demand that no monarchical institutions shall be allowed to exist and expand on American soil, nor any tyrannical emblem float over the sanctified graves of our kindred.

Aaron Burr was a statesman. He wanted sea-room. He did not believe in the idea of the United States embracing only a small strip of land in the centre of the American continent. He did not, like some others, dread the growth of the country, but was ever ready to enlarge its boundaries. His effort, in 1775, in company with the gallant Irishman Montgomery, to advance towards the north pole, though defeated at Quebec, gives an idea of his intentions when he turned towards the tropics.

“There is no evidence that Burr meant to sever the Western States from the Union, or desired to do so, nor that he intended to seize New Orleans or any property in it. His preliminary object was Texas ; his ultimate object was the throne of Mexico.”—*Parton's Life of Burr*, page 354.

The best and strongest evidence of Burr's innocence is the fact that Andrew Jackson was his intimate friend. He went all the way to Richmond during Burr's trial, and, in the public streets, made speeches before thousands, vindicating him and denouncing President Jefferson for interfering with the expedition. Jackson was not a traitor ; neither did he ever



countenance disunion in any shape. "Burr and Jackson were always good friends. In a letter, dated Nov. 20, 1815, to Gov. Alston, Burr urges him to use his influence to break up the caucus system by making a respectable nomination in the person of Andrew Jackson, instead of Monroe."—*Statesman's Manual*, Vol. I, page 476.

These remarks have been continued at some length to give the reader the true outlines of the history of the Burr expedition. He was a man that had ideas in advance of his time, (he also had faults.) But if he lived at the present day he would see most of the country he sought to acquire now belonging to the Federal Union. He would also have the pleasure of witnessing Canada, which he and the gallant Montgomery endeavored to rescue from Great Britain, forming a Confederacy on its hook and taking the management of its affairs into its own hands, which is a preliminary step in the right direction. He would have seen the great civil strife, which grew out of the imperfections of the Constitution, which he predicted would not last much beyond fifty years. But he would also have seen, what he did not foresee nor predict—the triumphant vindication of the Union.

The embargo act was a favorite measure of Jefferson's administration. It caused great distress in the country, and greatly weakened the Republican party. It was in the period of greatest distress that the Presidential election came on. Virginia was in the field with two candidates, Madison and Monroe. The Congressional caucus decided in Madison's favor by 80 majority. Clinton, who had been Vice President in Jefferson's last term, was chosen by the caucus for the same position under Madison. It is needless to say this ticket was elected. The theory of States' Rights, which had been so much talked of before the Republicans got control of the Federal Government, was almost forgotten. They occupied the Federal forts, and there was no party left to man the States' Rights artillery, whose batteries the Constitution had left to be used against itself by the disaffected minority. In after years they became the den and hiding place for every vile ism

that contemplated war against the authority of the Federal Government.

State Rights was the prelude to raise the hue and cry against every measure adopted by the Government for defence. First against the whisky tax, by Pennsylvania; then against the Embargo Act and the war of 1812, by the Hartford Conventionists; then against the tariff, by South Carolina; then against the fugitive slave law, by many of the Northern States; and then against freedom by the slave States combined; and finally it was given in great triumph by the assassin, as justifying the murder of Mr. Lincoln—*sic semper tyrannis*, the motto of the State of Virginia. He was a stickler for State Rights. By it he claimed the right, and, for slavery's sake, assassinated the President.

Madison was not in favor of State Rights, as the extracts given from his letters, in another part of this book, abundantly prove. He was put forward as the strongest man Virginia had, as the politicians of that State had an understanding. There was no excitement about State Rights during his first election. Our foreign relations was the all-absorbing question. The result of Jefferson's foreign policy was ruining the country. On the 1st of March, 1809, Congress passed the Non-Intercourse Act, and on the 15th of the same month repealed the Embargo Act as to all nations except England and France, between whom and the United States no trade was permitted.

The Massachusetts Legislature, in January, 1809, in a report on the state of the country at the end of Jefferson's administration, says: "Our agriculture is discouraged; the fisheries abandoned; navigation forbidden; our commerce at home restrained, if not annihilated; our commerce abroad cut off; our navy sold, dismantled, or degraded to the service of cutters or gun-boats; the revenue extinguished; the course of justice interrupted; and the nation weakened by internal animosities and divisions, at the moment when it is unnecessarily and improvidently exposed to a war with Great Britain, France, and Spain."



The foregoing is a true picture of the condition of the country and the administration of the first State Rights President. Russell, in his researches of the Life of Jefferson, remarks: "Let us suppose that Mr. Jefferson had been chosen to carry into practice the first experiment of the Federal Government instead of Washington, and that he had applied his system of *State Rights* and popular interference to the new machine which the Federal Convention had just placed in the hands of the Executive. Is it not self-evident that, for want of vigor and energy, the Constitution would have crumbled to pieces in his hands, and left him in possession only of the fragments of the old Confederacy."

Madison was a Federalist, and advocated the adoption of the Constitution; and his great ability carried it through the Virginia Convention by 11 majority—for its adoption, 69; against it, 78.

It soon became evident that our foreign relations were in a condition to demand immediate attention. Jefferson had reduced the army and navy, and almost left the nation powerless for defence. The administration of Madison increased the army from 3,000 to 20,000 men, and Congress also passed an act authorizing the President to receive the service of 50,000 volunteers. Madison was not desirous of having a war during his administration, but was actually forced into it. He thought a declaration of war at a time when the Government had been stripped of all its armor, was impolitic. Mr. Monroe was the only one of his Cabinet officers with a military turn of mind.

One John Henry, a native of Ireland, had been employed by Sir Jonas H. Craig, Governor of Canada, to visit Boston and arrange for a dissolution of the Union with some of the Federalists of New England. He could find no one that sympathized with his mission, and returned to Canada in 1811. In February, 1812, he disclosed the secret to Madison, and received a reward of \$50,000.

The declaration of war against Great Britain was approved by Mr. Madison, June 18th, 1812. Members of Congress from

the South and West carried the war measure against the will and consent of the Northern States. Of 79 members of the House who voted for war, 46 resided south, and 33 north of the Delaware. Of the 19 Senators who voted for war, 14 resided south, and 5 north of the Delaware.

On the 18th of May, 1812, Madison was renominated by the vote of 82 members of Congress. Money matters were now stringent, and all the banks had suspended except a few in New England. War was unpopular, and taxation was dreaded. The invasion of Canada commenced in 1812, and the last important action of the war was fought Jan. 8, 1815—Gen. Jackson's victory over the British Gen. Packenham, at New Orleans. This battle was fought after peace was signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814. Very little was accomplished by the war, except a marked respect since shown by the British Government to the rights of our seamen.

The Hartford Convention assembled in Hartford, Connecticut, Dec. 15, 1814, and sat twenty days. This Convention met to express the sentiments of the anti-war party of New England. The following is part of the report made by them at the time: "In cases of deliberate, dangerous, and palpable impositions of the Constitution, affecting the sovereignty of a State and the liberties of the people, *it is not only the right but the duty of each State to interpose its authority for their protection in the manner best calculated to secure that end.* When emergencies occur which are either beyond the reach of judicial tribunals or too pressing to admit of delay incident to their forms, States which have no common umpire *must be their own judges and execute their own decisions.*"

The true cause of grievance against the administration was, that it had withheld all supplies for the maintenance of the militia for the year 1814, both in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and thus forced upon these States the burden of supporting the troops employed for defending their coasts from invasion and their towns from being sacked. The number of delegates at this Convention was 26. The Legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island sent delegates. In



Vermont and New Hampshire the delegates received their appointments from local conventions. No one of the members of this Convention would ever admit that a dissolution of the Union was contemplated, but contended that it was simply to bring about a remedy for burdens too grievous to be borne. That the entire section had much to endure during the war of 1812, no one acquainted with the history of those times will deny ; but they counseled resistance to Federal authority under the plea of State Rights. Although it was not in the form of an article of dissolution or ordinance of secession, yet all must admit that it had the smell of treason.

Under the names of Republican and Democrat this party stigmatized the Hartford Conventionists as traitors, and now come round and say they were right.

Pollard, in his 1st volume, page 59, *Southern History of the War*, speaking of this Convention, says : "This is the doctrine which the South had always held from the beginning, and for which she is now pouring out her blood and treasure."

By hitching the slave interest on to the State Rights heresy, they inaugurated war against the General Government. The *Federal*, afterwards the *Whig*, then the *Republican*, and lastly the *Union* party, have ever kept in view the idea that "we, the people of the United States," made the Federal Government, and are bound to sustain it against State Rights, slavery and rebellion.

The loss of life resulting from the war of 1812 may be set down at about 30,000 men ; and the total expenditure of the United States during the contest was about \$100,000,000. It lasted about three years. The Americans, on the ocean and lakes, had captured about 56 British ships of war, mounting 886 cannon, and 2,360 merchant vessels, mounting 8,000 guns, of which 345 were ships, 610 brigs, 520 schooners, 135 sloops, and 750 vessels of various classes taken by the Americans and retaken by the British ; making altogether 2,416 vessels, with their specie and cargoes, and about 30,000 prisoners of war. The British captures were less—1,407 merchant vessels, and 20,961 American seamen prisoners of war.

Near the latter end of the war, on the 24th of August, 1814, Washington City was captured by the British and the Capitol burned. This war was brewing during Jefferson's last term. It commenced during Madison's first, and was brought to an end towards the close of his second term.

Mr. Monroe was nominated by the Virginia influence. The Congressional caucus was held March 16, 1816. Monroe got 65 votes in the caucus, and Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia, 54. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, got 85 votes for Vice President on the same ticket.

Madison was Federal in his views as regards the power conferred on the National Government. When the discussion arose about the power of the General Government to annul State laws wherein Congress deemed them improper, Madison remarked, "that he could not but regard an indefinite power to negative legislative acts of the States as absolutely necessary to a perfect system."—*Analysis of Constitution*, page 134.

Monroe was an Anti-Federalist, and opposed the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in 1787, in the Virginia Legislature, while Madison, Marshall, Randolph, and Pendleton, defended and voted for it. Madison's administration terminated on the 3d of March, 1817, and Monroe was inaugurated the following day. About the first thing he did, after selecting his Cabinet officers, was to take a tour round the Atlantic coast to inspect the forts, and arrange for perfecting proper means of defence from invasion. The result of the war of 1812 had fully established the importance of this movement. He left Washington the 31st of May, 1817, and was gone about three months.

Although Mr. Monroe was understood to be a Republican, yet, strange to say, he called as his Cabinet officers men of the Federal stamp. John Q. Adams, Crawford, Crowninshield, and Wirt, were all of the same views as Alexander Hamilton in regard to the powers of the National Government. In his first term an act was passed, at the recommendation of the President, granting a pension to revolutionary soldiers, of whom about 13,000 were yet living; also an act respecting



the flag of the United States, fixing the number of stripes, alternate red and white, at thirteen, and directed that the Union be represented by stars equal to the number of States, white in a blue field. The Florida war commenced in his first term, and was only brought to a close August 14, 1843. It originated on account of a desire on the part of the slaveholders to drive out the Seminole Indians, who, they declared, were harboring runaway slaves, and means were resorted to and excuses framed to bring about a collision.

Everything appeared to work well with his administration until Feb. 28, 1820, when Missouri asked admission into the Union with its peculiar slave Constitution. This question was continued until the 28th of February, 1821, and the act admitting it was passed and signed by Monroe on the 2d of March, same year. The workings of the Federal Government up to this time had embraced almost all political questions. But when the slavery question began to agitate Congress, the doctrine of State Rights was now claimed to be of prominent importance. It was evident to every statesman that when these two questions became linked together, presenting an undivided front, they would destroy the peace of the country.

Having been renominated by the caucus, Monroe was re-elected, in 1820, almost unanimously. He was a half-and-half party man ; he opposed in a great measure the policy marked out by Jefferson, and could not, after his election, be claimed as the embodiment of Republican ideas. The power is granted to Congress by the Constitution "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." This clause has been a source of contention ever since the formation of the Government. Monroe, in his Internal Improvement message, May 4, 1822, treats the subject at great length, and aims at the conclusion that the object of granting these powers was *to leave nothing to implication*. He also held that these powers were inherent in the very nature of the compact, and would have existed substantially if the grant had not been made. Most of his Cabinet officers were Federal, and when he became President, although previ-

ously a strong Republican, he inclined so much towards the Federalists' views of the Constitution that his old political associates called him a no-party man.

In his seventh annual message, Dec. 2, 1823, he remarks : " But, in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. *It is impossible that the Allied Powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness.*" This idea was first promulgated by him, and has since been known as the Monroe Doctrine.

The efforts of Aaron Burr's friends to secure for him the office of President, when they well knew that the people had chosen Jefferson for that exalted position, put a *quietus* on electing the Vice President as the successor. Before that, Adams, the Vice President under Washington, was chosen to succeed him, and Jefferson, Vice President under Adams, followed. The Vice Presidency, up to this time, was looked upon as a kind of school to fit a man for the higher station of Chief Magistrate. But the excitement attending the election of 1800 prevented the election of any Vice President to the Presidency for the period of 36 years, when Martin Van Buren, who had been Vice President under Jackson, was chosen to succeed him. John Tyler and Millard Fillmore became Presidents after the assassinations of Harrison and Taylor; and our present Chief Magistrate, Andrew Johnson, holds his position in consequence of the assassination of President Lincoln.

The election of 1825 going to the House produced a reaction in favor of Jackson, who entirely broke up the Congressional caucus system of nominating Presidential candidates. He was placed in the field early by his own State in 1829. This completely destroyed the caucus system. He was again nominated by the Legislatures of Pennsylvania and New York, and was re-elected.

*The Convention system* was first introduced at Baltimore, in September, 1831. It originated out of the Anti-Mason excitement in Western New York. One William Morgan, a na-



tive of Virginia, then residing in Batavia, New York, had published what was supposed to reveal the three first degrees of Masonry. He suddenly disappeared, and his supposed death was charged against the Masonic Order, but no evidence has ever been adduced to establish the truth of the charge. Even if the Lodge of which he was a member had made way with him (of which there is no evidence) it could not be charged on the Order.

Mr. Clay was then the opponent of Jackson. The Convention would have liked to have had him as their candidate, but Clay being a Mason, his nomination was out of the question. After adopting a platform, the Convention nominated Wm. Wirt, of Maryland, as a candidate for President, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, as Vice President. At this Presidential election, the party names underwent a change. Republicans changed to *Democrat* and Federalists to *Whig*.

The party that had nominated Wirt called themselves the National Republican party, and carried the State of Vermont. The Whigs met in December, of the same year, (1831,) at the same place, and nominated Clay for President, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President. These two parties, with their candidates, led the opposition, and the most they expected was again to throw the election into the House. The State of New Hampshire sent out a call for a National Convention to nominate a candidate for Vice President. Calhoun had a quarrel with Jackson, and the Democracy assembled in force May 21, 1832, in Baltimore. Martin Van Buren was chosen by 203 out of 283 members present.

The Convention system has been kept up by both parties ever since, the Democratic party adopting the two-thirds rule in nominating, which has been the means of slaughtering nearly all its best statesmen for twenty years. The Native American and Abolition parties also both resorted to the Convention system to bring their candidates into the field. The slavery controversy having now become the all-absorbing question before the country, we refer the reader, for further particulars concerning candidates, to another part of this work.

We close this part of our subject by giving the following electoral vote of all the Presidential contests, from Washington to Lincoln, together with the annual expenditures of each administration.

1789	{	George Washington, Virginia.....	69
		John Adams, Massachusetts.....	34
		<i>Scattering</i> .....	35

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$1,986,588.

1793	{	George Washington, Virginia.....	132
		John Adams, Massachusetts.....	77
		George Clinton, New York.....	50

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$1,986,588.

1797	{	John Adams, Massachusetts.....	71
		Thomas Jefferson, Virginia.....	68
		Thomas Pinckney, South Carolina.....	59
		Aaron Burr, New York.....	30
		<i>Scattering</i> .....	48

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$5,287,088.

1801	{	Thomas Jefferson, Virginia.....	73
		John Adams, Massachusetts.....	65
		Aaron Burr, New York.....	73
		Charles C. Pinckney, South Carolina.....	64

The vote for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr being equal, the House of Representatives proceeded on Wednesday, February 11, 1801, to the choice of a *President of the United States*. On the first ballot eight States voted for Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, six States voted for Aaron Burr, of New York, and the votes of two States were divided. The balloting continued until Tuesday, 17th Feb. 1801, when on the thirty-sixth ballot the votes of ten States were given for Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, the votes of four States for Aaron Burr, of New York, and the votes of two States in blank, and Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia was elected.

Aaron Burr, as Vice President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties on the 4th of March, 1801.

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$5,142,598.

1805	{	Thomas Jefferson, Virginia.....	162
		Charles C. Pinckney, South Carolina.....	14
V. Pres.	{	George Clinton, New York.....	162
		Rufus King, New York.....	14

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$5,142,598.

1809	{	James Madison, Virginia.....	122
		Charles C. Pinckney, South Carolina.....	47
V. Pres.	{	George Clinton, New York.....	113
		Rufus King, New York.....	47

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$18,085,617.



1813	{ James Madison, Virginia.....	128
Pres.	{ De Witt Clinton, New York.....	89
V. Pres.	{ Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts.....	131
	{ Jared Ingersoll, Pennsylvania.....	86

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$18,085,617.

1817	{ James Monroe, Virginia.....	183
Pres.	{ Rufus King, New York.....	34
V. Pres.	Daniel D. Tompkins, New York.....	183

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$13,045,431.

1821	Pres. James Monroe, Virginia.....	231
V. Pres.	Daniel D. Tompkins, New York.....	218

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$13,045,431.

	{ Andrew Jackson, Tennessee.....	99
1825	{ John Q. Adams, Massachusetts.....	84
Pres.	{ Wm. H. Crawford, Georgia.....	41
	{ Henry Clay, Kentucky.....	37
V. Pres.	{ John C. Calhoun, South Carolina.....	182
	{ Nathan Sanford, New York.....	30

<i>Votes in the</i>	{ Adams.....	13
<i>House of</i>	{ Jackson.....	7
<i>Representatives.</i>	{ Crawford.....	4

For Vice President, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, received two.

Neither of the persons voted for as President having received a majority of the votes, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to choose a President from the three highest on the list of those voted for by the electors for President, which three were, Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford. The votes of thirteen States were given for John Quincy Adams; the votes of seven States for Andrew Jackson, and the votes of four States for William H. Crawford. John Quincy Adams, having received a majority of the votes of all the States of this Union, was duly elected President of the United States for four years, to commence on the 4th of March, 1825.

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$12,625,478.

1829	{ Andrew Jackson, Tennessee.....	178
Pres.	{ John Q. Adams, Massachusetts.....	83
	{ John C. Calhoun, South Carolina.....	171
V. Pres.	{ Richard Rush, Pennsylvania.....	83
	{ William Smith, South Carolina.....	7

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$18,068,301.

1833	{ Andrew Jackson, Tennessee.....	219
Pres.	{ Henry Clay, Kentucky.....	49
V. Pres.	{ Martin Van Buren, New York.....	189
	{ John Sergeant, Pennsylvania.....	49

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$18,068,301.

1837	{	Martin Van Buren, New York.....	170
Pres.	{	Wm. H. Harrison, Ohio.....	73
V. Pres.	{	R. M. Johnson, Kentucky.....	147
	{	Francis Granger, New York.....	77

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$28,047,173,

1841	{	Wm. H. Harrison, Ohio.....	234
Pres.	{	Martin Van Buren, New York.....	60
V. Pres.	{	John Tyler, Virginia.....	234
	{	R. M. Johnson, Kentucky.....	48

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$23,541,238.

1845	{	James K. Polk, Tennessee.....	170
Pres.	{	Henry Clay, Kentucky.....	105
V. Pres.	{	George M. Dallas, Pennsylvania.....	170
	{	T. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey.....	105

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$36,681,101.

1849	{	Zachary Taylor, Louisiana.....	163
Pres.	{	Lewis Cass, Michigan.....	127
V. Pres.	{	Millard Fillmore, New York.....	163
	{	Wm. O. Butler, Kentucky.....	127

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, while Taylor lived, \$31,074,347. Fillmore, his successor, increased it to \$44,805,721.

1853	{	Franklin Pierce, New Hampshire.....	254
Pres.	{	Winfield Scott, New York.....	42
V. Pres.	{	William R. King, Alabama.....	254
	{	Wm. A. Graham, North Carolina.....	42

Average annual expenditure, exclusive of public debt, \$55,872,028.

1857	{	James Buchanan, Pennsylvania.....	174
Pres.	{	John C. Frémont, California.....	113
	{	Millard Fillmore, New York.....	8
V. Pres.	{	J. C. Breckinridge, Kentucky.....	174
	{	Wm. L. Dayton, New Jersey.....	113
	{	Andrew J. Donelson, Tennessee.....	8

Expenditure for year ending June 31, 1858.....	\$82,062,186	74
“ “ “ “ “ 1859.....	83,678,643	92
“ “ “ “ “ 1860.....	77,055,125	65
“ “ “ “ “ 1861.....	85,387,313	08

Total.....\$328,183,269 39

The public debt on the 7th of March, 1861, was \$76,159,667, consisting of \$59,696,956 funded debt, and \$16,462,711 treasury notes outstanding.

1860	{	Abraham Lincoln, Illinois.....	180
Pres.	{	Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois.....	12
	{	John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky.....	72
	{	John Bell, Tennessee.....	39



*Popular Vote in 1860.*

Lincoln.....	1,864,104
Douglas.....	992,359
Breckinridge.....	669,273
<i>Fusion (Dem.)</i> .....	563,741
Bell.....	588,814
Expenditure for year ending June 30, 1862.....	570,841,700 25
“ “ “ “ “ 1863.....	895,796,630 65
“ “ “ “ “ 1864.....	1,298,144,656 00
Do Estimated “ “ “ “ 1865.....	1,409,082,455 84
<hr/>	
Total.....	\$4,173,865,442 74

1864	{ Abraham Lincoln, Illinois.....	230
Pres.	{ George B. McClellan, New Jersey.....	21

*Popular Vote in 1864.*

Lincoln.....	2,223,035
McClellan .....	1,811,754

The public debt on the 1st of July, 1865, is estimated to amount to \$2,223,364,677 81, if the amounts to be raised correspond with the estimates.

# HISTORY

OF

## GREAT CIVIL WARS.

HOW THEY ENDED.

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The Peloponnesian war which began four hundred and thirty-two years B. C., lasted twenty-seven years. This war was brought on by the rivalry of the Grecian states—state sovereignty or autonomy. Pericles wanted union, but his efforts to form a great nation from rival sovereignties proved a failure.

Sparta and Athens held slaves. The latter over 400,000, to 60,000 persons. The former Sparta was the South Carolina of Greece during the progress of the war; she, fearing insurrection among the slaves, offered liberty to all that would join the army. 2,000 came up to accept the boon, and the oligarchs had them secretly led away and massacred. By this fiendish treachery they were enabled to get rid of an element that might produce discord at home.

It is curious to contrast the numbers engaged in our war with those engaged in the great wars of the past:

“We select two decisive battles. One of these was fought in the harbor of Syracuse. In an expedition against Sicily, Athens had strained every nerve and equipped a magnificent fleet and army. They sailed out of the Piræus with sound of trumpets, pæans, and libations of wine from gold and silver cups. This great army consisted of five thousand heavy armed infantry. It was reinforced by another of about the same number. When gathered at Syracuse they numbered in all—heavy armed infantry, natives of the island, and slaves who were light-armed and only employed as skirmishers—



twenty thousand men. This, in the language of Thucydides, made her power appear 'stupendous,' and her resources 'beyond calculation.'

"The final and decisive battle was that of Aigospotami, when Athens lost her fleet, and nearly her whole army was surprised and taken prisoners. The numbers engaged in battle are not told ; but the number of prisoners, who were native Athenians, is recorded as three thousand, which seems to have made up the bulk of her army in the last decisive engagement."

#### NOW AND THEN.

As to the numbers engaged, the little state of Massachusetts has furnished more men in our present struggle than fought on both sides in the great English rebellion. It has sent more men into the field than Julius Cæsar commanded to gain the empire of the world ; more than all the troops of Hellas put together in the long struggle that rent her in pieces, when her sun went down in blood. The state of New York has equipped more soldiers than all the troops of Cæsar and Pompey put together, though drawn from every province, from the Euphrates to the pillars of Hercules. The whole army of Cromwell would only serve as skirmishers, or as a detail for a "raid" from the army of Grant or Sherman. His great military fame was gained by managing twenty-five thousand men ; and its marches and evolutions were within an area less extensive than the state of Virginia."

#### THE ENGLISH REBELLION.

"The great civil war of England, known as 'the Great Rebellion,' was also a conflict between the oligarchs and the commons ; called the Cavaliers and the Roundheads ; more appropriately, the King and his Parliament. It divided England horizontally—the king and the lords and the bishops on one side, the commons on the other ; and it decided the question forever, whether constitutional government was a possible boon to the English race.

"The war opened in 1642, and continued seven years. It

would probably have been finished in half that time, but for the hesitancy and half measures of Essex, the first parliamentary general. The first conflict of Edgehill has its exact parallel in Antietam. It was a drawn battle: both parties laying all night on their arms; but, in the morning, Hampden came up with four thousand fresh men. Julius Cæsar would have followed up quickly the former day's work, and, with blow upon blow, finished the royalists and the war. Instead of this, the armies 'looked at each other,' dreaded to renew the fight, and drew off, each by itself, much to the chagrin and disgust of Hampden. Five thousand were left slain upon the field—slain to no purpose, as nothing was decided. So things went on, till Oliver Cromwell came with his 'ironside regiment,' and, at the decisive battle of Naseby, dashed upon the king's forces, and shivered them in pieces.

"We may smile, on reading over these great battles, at the numbers engaged. They varied from twenty to twenty-five thousand men on each side, never exceeding the latter number. The battle of Marston Moor was the most obstinately contested, between 'the most numerous armies that were engaged during the course of these wars;' and in that battle, as Hume laments, fifty thousand British troops were led to mutual slaughter. Such was the price paid; the end achieved was free government for the English race everywhere."

Wars unskillfully waged are the bloodiest of all. Cæsar, in a three years' war between the Cæsareans and Pompeians, lost fewer men than McClellan did in a single campaign on the Peninsula. Indeed, it is said, more lives have been lost in our present war than the great civil wars of Greece, Rome and England put together; and this might have been avoided had the North been a military people.

#### THE EFFECT OF INTERVENTION.

"It is well to look into the gulf of ruin from which our present civil war has saved us. Resolving the Union into thirty-six state sovereignties would place us exactly where the Greek Autonomies were placed in their struggle of twenty-



seven years. It means mutual slaughter and final collapse, until some stronger third power comes in and adjusts the bleeding fragments. Persia finally 'intervened' in favor of Sparta ; and her hateful despotism was pressed down upon all the States of Hellas and her lovely islands. Thebes finally rebelled against it, led on by the great Epaminondas ; and a second series of civil wars brought on a more complete exhaustion, and a more deadly collapse. Philip of Macedon next 'intervened,' and crushed them still lower into the dust, amid the dying thunders of Demosthenes, and the fading glories of the Grecian name. Next Rome 'intervened' and conquered Macedonia ; and both Macedonia and Hellas went down together under her iron heel. Next the Turk 'intervened ;' and Rome, in all her Eastern empire, involving Greece with her ancient states and beautiful isles, was eclipsed in a more baleful despotism and in heathen night. Such are the last results of autonomy—dismemberment, mutual hate and slaughter, national extinction and death. So the loveliest form of ancient civilization, in a democracy just rising to the glories of empire, was sacrificed to the insane notion of petty 'state sovereignty ;' and when we now ask, Where is Hellas ? we are only answered by poets, who sing her elegy :

"Ask the Paynim slave,  
 Who treads all tearless on her hallowed graves ;  
 Invoke the spirits of the past, and shed  
 The voice of your strong bidding on the dead !  
 Lo, from a thousand crumbling tombs they rise—  
 The great of old, the powerful and the wise !  
 And a sad tale, which none but they can tell,  
 Falls on the mournful silence like a knell.  
 Then mark yon lonely pilgrim bend and weep  
 Above the mound where genius lies in sleep.  
 And is this all ? Alas ! we turn in vain,  
 And, turning, meet the self-same waste again—  
 The same drear wilderness of stern decay ;  
 Its former pride, the phantom of a day ;  
 A song of summer birds within a bower ,  
 A dream of beauty traced upon a flower ;  
 A lute whose master chord has ceased to sound ;  
 A morning star struck darkling to the ground."

DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT PEACE BEFORE AND DURING  
THE FIGHT.—MR. LINCOLN AT RICHMOND.

Ever since war was determined on by the South efforts have been made by individuals on both sides to bring about peace by diplomacy. Before Buchanan's administration expired South Carolina sent delegates to Washington to arrange for a peaceable dissolution of the Union. On the 5th of March, 1861, John Forsythe, Martin J. Crawford, and A. B. Roman, were sent by the Confederate authorities. They proposed a peaceable dissolution of the Union, and a division of its effects. Then came, in after times, Sanders, Thompson, Tucker and Clay, of Canada plotting assassination fame.

From the North, by permission, went Col. Jaques, and his colleague, and had a talk with the rebel chiefs in Richmond. Then Horace Greeley met Clay, Thompson, and Sanders, at Niagara Falls. The above seekers were unable to find peace, but Mr. Greeley thought it not so difficult to attain as was generally thought. In January, 1865, Francis P. Blair, of Washington, and Gen. Singleton, of Illinois, by permission, made a visit to Richmond, and induced Jeff Davis to renew his efforts for peace through diplomacy. Vice President A. H. Stephens, Judge Campbell, and R. M. T. Hunter, were chosen by him, and sent to confer with President Lincoln. The meeting was arranged, and took place on board the United States transport *River Queen*, in Hampton Roads, Va., February 3, 1865. The rebel Commissioners demanded an *armistice*, as a preliminary measure. This President Lincoln refused to grant.

Secretary Seward, who was at the conference with President Lincoln, in a letter to Mr. Adams, our British Minister, dated Feb. 9, 1865, remarks: "The Richmond party were then informed that Congress had, on the 21st ult., adopted by a constitutional majority a joint resolution submitting to the several States the proposition to abolish slavery throughout the Union, and that there is every reason to believe that it will be accepted by three-fourths of the States, so as to be-



come a part of the national organic law. The conference came to an end by mutual acquiescence, without producing an agreement of views upon the several matters discussed, or any of them. Nevertheless, it is perhaps of some importance that we have been able to submit our opinions and views directly to prominent insurgents, and to hear them in answer in a courteous and not unfriendly manner.

The following is the rebel version, as given by A. H. Stephens :

Davis sent for his Vice President, and informed him of the purport of Blair's mission. Stephens advised that Davis himself should go to meet President Lincoln, and Generals Grant and Lee should be the only persons even to know of the meeting or be present at the interview. Davis refused to adopt this plan, and appointed three Commissioners to go in his place. He instructed them not to enter into any agreement whatever without his rank as President was first recognized. During the conference, while this point was being discussed, Hunter received a *settler* from Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. Hunter made a long reply, insisting that the recognition of Davis's power to make a treaty was the first and indispensable step to peace, and referring to the correspondence between King Charles the First and his Parliament, as a reliable precedent of a constitutional ruler treating with rebels. Mr. Lincoln's face then wore that indescribable expression which generally preceded his hardest hits, and he remarked : 'Upon questions of history I must refer you to Mr. Seward, for he is posted in such things, and I don't propose to be bright. My only distinct recollection of the matter is, that Charles lost his head.' That settled Mr. Hunter for a while.

After this Mr. Lincoln's manner became earnest, and he gave the Commissioners to understand that nothing short of unconditional restoration of the Union could for a moment be entertained, and said the time might come when they (the rebels) would not be considered as an erring people invited back to citizenship, but would be looked upon as enemies to be exterminated or ruined,

A. H. Stephens (so says the *Augusta Chronicle*, June 7, 1865) states that President Lincoln, at the conference, offered to pay to the South, for the loss of her slaves, \$400,000,000 in gold. He says this offer was suppressed in making the report, but was reported to Davis confidentially, as the Commissioners believed it would damage Mr. Lincoln, and perhaps prevent him in future from renewing the same liberal offer.

Judge Campbell, in his report, says he was satisfied with Mr. Lincoln's ultimatum, and was ready to acquiesce. Several days after their return to Richmond, he says Hunter became convinced of the hopelessness of looking or fighting for anything better, and sided with him. Stephens at first thought a longer delay might result more favorable to the South, but on the eve of his departure for Georgia (which took place the day before the meeting at the African Church) he also acquiesced with the other Commissioners.

After the capture of Richmond Judge Campbell remained in the place, and expressed a desire to Generals Weitzel and Shepley to see President Lincoln, whom he had learned was coming to the city. When Mr. Lincoln arrived the Generals communicated this to him, and he immediately sent for Campbell, who met him at Weitzel's headquarters in the old Jeff. Davis mansion. Campbell expressed a great desire for peace, and insisted that Virginia should be taken back into the Union, which would serve as a stepping stone for the other Southern States. He argued that if the Virginia Legislature was called together they would vote the State back at once. He submitted many plans to Mr. Lincoln—among others, that of assembling the leading men of Virginia at Richmond. Mr. Lincoln then stated to Campbell that it had been his intention to return back to City Point immediately, but at his request he would stay until the next day. In the meantime Campbell went in search of some leading men, but could only succeed in finding a Mr. Gustavus A. Meyers, a former merchant of the city. The next day the interview was held in the cabin of the *Malvern*, on board of which the President had retained his quarters.



The *New York Herald*, of July 9, 1865, gives the following account of the proceedings, upon the arrival of Campbell and Meyers, in the presence of Gen. Weitzel :

“ After the ordinary greetings, Mr. Lincoln drew from the breast-pocket of his coat a folded document in his own handwriting, covering parts of two pages of foolscap paper, without date or signature. He said that that paper contained his finality to the South. If the South desired peace, they could have it on the terms therein set forth, but on no other. He then proceeded to read the document, of which the following is an abstract :

Three things are essential to peace :

*First.* The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.

*Second.* No receding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress and in preceding documents.

*Third.* No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the Government

All propositions coming from those in hostility to the Government, and not inconsistent with the foregoing, will be respectfully considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. Beyond the indispensable terms any reasonable conditions will be entertained.

The remission of confiscations was left within the power of the Executive. Confiscations will be enforced if the war is continued, but will be remitted to the people of any State which shall now promptly and in good faith withdraw its troops and other support from further resistance to the Government. This has no reference to rights of property in slaves.

Mr. Lincoln then re-read the paper, commenting at length on each paragraph and sentence, in order to make his meaning clear and distinct. The paper was then handed to the Southern representatives.

## THE QUESTION OF PARDONS.

Mr. Lincoln remarked that the question of pardons was not mentioned in the paper. The pardoning power, he said, was vested wholly and unreservedly with himself. He could not force pardons upon anybody. Jeff. Davis had said that he would not accept a pardon from him (Mr. Lincoln). What was not worth asking for was not worth receiving. "But most anybody can have most anything they choose to ask for."

MR. LINCOLN'S PLAN FOR REASSEMBLING THE VIRGINIA  
LEGISLATURE.

After some general conversation, Mr. Lincoln, doubtless referring to the proposition of the previous evening, said :

"I have been considering a plan for reassembling the Virginia Legislature. I deem it of the greatest importance that the same organization which has been casting the influence and support of the State to the rebels should bring the State back into the Union. If I can work it out in my mind I will let you know."

## GENERAL WEITZEL'S PERMIT TO THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

In justice to General Weitzel, whom the public has charged with transcending his authority in permitting the call for the assembling of the Virginia Legislature to be made, this point is important. The proposition that had been made to Mr. Lincoln was to convene the public and leading statesmen of Virginia without reference to their official station, and to settle with them the terms and mode of reorganization, and to obtain their aid in composing and tranquilizing the people. On the following day the President addressed a note to General Weitzel from City Point authorizing him to permit the convening of the Legislature, and directing that the note be shown to Judge Campbell. On that authority the call for the reconvening of the Legislature was prepared and submitted to General Shepley for approval. General Shepley made some alterations in its wording and then permitted it to be printed.



## THE REVOCATION OF THE ORDER.

In the meantime the late President returned to Washington, where, it would seem, the action had been made the topic of discussion in the Cabinet, by the advice of which body, and because of revelations hereinafter detailed, the President was led to revoke the action. He thereupon addressed a note to General Weitzel directing that the permission for the reassembling of the Virginia Legislature be revoked and all the papers that had passed in the premises be withdrawn. This note entered somewhat at length into the reasons that induced the Executive to adopt this course. Simultaneously with the reception of this note by General Weitzel, Major General E. O. C. Ord, Commander of the Department of Virginia, arrived at Richmond, having previously been absent with one of his corps, co-operating with the Army of the Potomac in pursuit of Lee. His arrival here operated to relieve General Weitzel of the supreme command he had then been exercising, and the latter was sent to Petersburg with his corps. Because of the coincidence of these events it was generally stated in the Northern papers that General Weitzel was relieved because of having transcended his authority, in permitting the call to issue for the assembling of the Legislature. From the above it will be seen how unjust was this imputation. It is unfortunate that considerations of national policy forbid the publication in full of the late President's final note to General Weitzel on this subject, which fully exonerates that officer from all blame or censure in the matter.

It is however most probable, as stated on eminent authority, that Mr. Lincoln, in the honesty of his intentions and the frankness of his heart, permitted himself to be entrapped where he considered everything to be fair and honorable. It will be remembered that the proposition had been made to him to assemble "the public and leading statesmen of Virginia, without reference to their official station." This proposition was intended and understood to mean the assembling of the people composing the State Legislature, though not as an official body. Mr.

Lincoln, in referring to it, spoke of the "Virginia Legislature," doubtless meaning thereby the unofficial body that had been spoken of to him; and when he sanctioned the reassembling of that body, he did not intend that the old rebel Legislature should be called together as a recognized political organization, which was attempted under the sanction gathered from his note. When he saw the literal interpretation that had been put upon his language by Campbell and others, he made haste to revoke the whole proceedings and recall all papers that had passed.

It will be readily apprehended how deep was the plot thus working against the late President. Had "Extra" Billy Smith and his Legislature been permitted to come back and exercise their functions as executive and legislative authorities of the State, it would have amounted to a recognition of those authorities, by which recognition would also have been implied not only the disavowal and repudiation of Governor Pierpont and his government, but also the government of West Virginia, and, indeed, the whole State organization of West Virginia; for the old Richmond Virginia State government has never recognized the division of the State, and was composed of delegates from the counties now included in the State of West Virginia, as well as the other counties of Virginia proper.

If Mr. Lincoln's ideas may be deduced from the arguments that had been presented to him, and upon which his action was based, his design was to permit Extra Billy Smith's Legislature to assemble in Richmond as a body of citizens, which, being looked upon in the South as the legitimate government of the State, would have influence with the citizens of the State who were absent, and probably exert some influence over the other States. It was distinctly understood that if permitted to assemble this body would pass a bill declaring null and void all acts previously passed in hostility to the United States, and also recalling all troops of the State absent with the Southern armies. Under the popular Southern theory of State rights such action would have compelled respect and obedience, and would at least have withdrawn the State from the insurrection. It was also understood that immediately on taking this action



the Legislature would dissolve, its members resign, and the whole government give way to such other legal organization as might be substituted. It will be remembered that all this occurred previous to Lee's surrender, and when it was of great importance that the Virginia troops should be withdrawn from the rebel armies. Undoubtedly the desire to thus seriously weaken the rebel cause had great weight in determining the course pursued by Mr. Lincoln, while the seeming sincerity and honesty of the advocates of the course wholly shut from his view the tricky scheme involved.

But the first step of the intriguers in misconstruing the meaning of the President and presuming upon a sanction to call together the Legislature of the State defeated all their projects. While an honest man is inclined to believe everybody else honest, a single deviation from integrity will arouse his fullest indignation and operate to forever destroy all confidence. So in this instance, Mr. Lincoln, when he saw the trick, quickly applied the remedy, by revoking the sanction given and withdrawing every scrap of writing that had passed. He could have no further conferences with such men.

Such was the final effort of the lamented President to restore peace to the country. Fortunately the valor of our noble troops rendered other efforts unnecessary, and the war was terminated, not by negotiation or compromise, but by the stern decision of that arbitrament—the sword—to which the South had first appealed.

GENERAL SHERMAN  
AND HIS  
GREAT CAMPAIGNS,  
INCLUDING HIS HOLIDAY MARCHES THROUGH GEORGIA  
AND THE CAROLINAS.

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WM. TECUMSEH SHERMAN is of English descent; his ancestors, Puritans, left Dedham, England, in 1634. Arriving in America, the family settled in Connecticut. Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who died in 1783, was of that family. Taylor Sherman, for many years judge in Connecticut, died in 1815, leaving a widow and three children, Charles R., Daniel, and Betsy. Charles R. married Mary Hoyt in 1810, and settled at Lancaster, now the county seat of Fairfield county, Ohio. Here he commenced the practice of law, and was finally elected Judge of the Superior Court in 1823. After serving in that capacity for near six years, he was suddenly attacked with cholera while on the bench in the discharge of his official duties. He died in June, 1829, leaving a widow with eleven children.

Wm. Tecumseh was born February 8th, 1820, and was named by his father, Tecumseh, in honor of the Indian chief of that name, who was killed, October 5th, 1813, at the battle of the Thames. At the age of nine years his mother gave him in charge of Thomas Ewing, a lawyer residing in Lancaster. Mr. Ewing was for many years a Whig politician of the Henry Clay school. After the Presidential election of 1840, he was chosen by Harrison, March 5th, 1841, Secretary of the Treasury. When young Sherman was about 16 years of age, Mr. Ewing having at his disposal the appointment of a military cadet for West Point, seeing the boy was developing talent for that kind of life, conferred it upon him. He graduated fifth in his class at that institution in June 1840, and was created 2d Lieutenant in the 3d U. S. Artillery, and sent to take part in the Florida War. Although peace was not made with the Indians of



that region until August 14th, 1843, yet he was made 1st Lieutenant in November, 1841, and sent to Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island in Charleston Harbor. After remaining there some time he was sent to California in 1846 as a Frontier Guard, and continued there until the close of the Mexican war; here he was promoted to a Captaincy. He now became Captain Sherman, and in 1850, after his return from California, married Miss Ellen B. Ewing, daughter of his benefactor. He was after this connected with the Commissary Department of the Army, but in 1853 he resigned his commission, and retired to private life.

Mr. Lucas, of St. Louis, Mo. was now about to establish a banking-house in San Francisco under the name of Lucas, Turner & Co. He gave the management of this house to Captain Sherman, in the capacity of banker, miner, and lawyer. He made and lost a large fortune in California. He returned from the Pacific coast and purchased a 160 acre farm near Topeka, Kansas, in 1857. While there he went into partnership with Hugh Ewing, Thomas Ewing, jr., and Daniel McCook, his two brother-in-laws, and McCook. Their law office was at Leavenworth, and the style of the firm was Ewing, Sherman & McCook. Having little taste for the legal profession, he was in 1860 offered, and accepted, at a yearly salary of \$5000 the Presidency of the Military School of Louisiana, situated at Alexandria, a town on Red River, about 350 miles above New Orleans.

When he ascertained Louisiana was preparing to secede from the Union to join the rebellion, he sent the following patriotic letter to its governor :

January 18th, 1861.

Gov. THOMAS O. MOORE, Baton Rouge, La :

Sir, As I occupy a *quasi* military position under this State, I deem it proper to acquaint you that I accepted such position when Louisiana was a State in the Union, and when the motto of the seminary was inserted in marble over the main door, *By the liberality of the general Government of the United States. The Union Esto Perpetua.* Recent events foreshadow a great change, and it becomes all men to choose. If Louisiana withdraws from the Federal Union I prefer to maintain my allegiance to the old Constitution as long as a fragment of it survives; and my longer stay here would be wrong in every sense of the word. In that event I beg you will send or appoint some authorized agent to take charge of the arms and munitions of war here, belonging to the State, or direct me what disposition should be made of them.

And, furthermore, as President of the Board of Supervisors, I beg you to take immediate steps to relieve me, as Superintendent, the moment the State determines to secede, for on no earthly account will I do any act or think any thought hostile to or in defiance of the old Government of the United States.

With great respect,

(Signed) W. T. SHERMAN.

This letter was written only eight days before the State passed the ordinance of secession. His resignation was accepted, and his patriotic devotion left him without employment. He went immediately to St. Louis, Mo., where he was engaged by Mr. Lucas, his old banking friend, at a yearly salary of \$2000 to act as superintendent of a city railroad. Duty to his Government had caused him to make the pecuniary sacrifice of \$3000 a year before engaging in anything hostile against it.

Patriotism afterwards induced him to offer his services and life, if need be, to put down its enemies. He repaired to Washington and offered his services to aid in putting down treason and traitors. General McDowell gave him a Colonelcy of the 13th Regular U. S. Infantry, dated May 14th, 1861. He was on the 3d of August same year promoted to Brigadier General of Volunteers, and sent into Kentucky to assist Anderson, of Sumter fame, who then had command of that Department. In November, 1862, with too many troops to be sacrificed, and too few to commence offensive operations, he requested Secretary Cameron who was then on a visit to his headquarters to send him more men. Cameron enquired of him how many troops he thought it would take to commence the offensive. Sherman then explained to him the difficulty of marching into Tennessee by divergent lines—one to Nashville and the other to East Tennessee—with forces largely outnumbered by the Rebel armies confronting him. On one of these lines he had 4,300 men to meet an opposing force of 18,000.

When asked by Secretary Cameron how many men were needed for the present campaign, he (Sherman) replied, "Sixty thousand; and before you can reduce the South to subjugation you must have 200,000."

To this then apparently exorbitant demand the Secretary refused to comply; and Sherman asked to be relieved, which Cameron did, and sent General Buell to take charge.

Sherman now went to Benton Barracks near St. Louis, Mo. Here, sitting in the old Planter's House with Cullum, the plan of the first campaign of Tennessee was canvassed and decided on. Sherman, in a speech to the people of St. Louis, says:

"General Halleck is the author of that first beginning, and I give him credit for it with pleasure. [Cheers.] Laying down his pencil upon the map, he said, 'There is the line and we must take it.' The capture of the forts on the Tennessee river by the troops led by Grant followed. [Cheers.] These were the grand strategetic features of that first movement, and it succeeded perfectly."

"General Halleck's plan went further—not to stop at his first line, which ran through Columbus, Bowling Green, crossing the river at Henry and Donelson, but to push on to the second line, which ran through Memphis and Charleston; but troubles intervened at Nashville, and delays



followed ; opposition to the last movement was made, and I myself was brought an actor on the scene."

General Grant was now preparing to move on Fort Donelson, and Sherman was entrusted with superintending the forwarding of reinforcements and supplies, being stationed at Paducah, Kentucky.

After the capture of Fort Donelson, he was put in command of the 5th Division of Grant's army. And under the lead of General C. F. Smith he ascended the Tennessee river to Pittsburg Landing. Here and at Shiloh, the 6th and 7th of April, 1862, his coolness and bravery on the field has seldom been surpassed, having had four horses shot under him. He could be seen everywhere in the thickest of the fight with face blackened with powder and besmeared with blood. Wounded himself, his daring in these battles will compare with Saladin, or equal Arabia's mad prophet through the bloody conflicts of Eastern war. With eyes full of smoldering fire, when every one around him was excited, he was calm and collected. He looked the perfection of everything human. The incarnation ideal of the God of War.

"In person," says Major Nicholson, his aide-de-camp, "he is nearly six feet in height, with a wiry, muscular, and not ungraceful frame. His age is only forty-seven years, but his face is furrowed with deep lines, indicating care and profound thought. With surprising rapidity, however, these strong lines disappear when he talks with children and women. His eyes are of a dark brown color, and sharp and quick in expression. His forehead is broad and fair, sloping gently at the top of the head, which is covered with thick and light brown hair, closely trimmed. His beard and moustache, of a sandy hue, are also closely cut. His constitution is iron. Exposure to cold, rain, or burning heat seems to produce no effect upon his powers of endurance and strength. Under the most harassing conditions I have never seen him exhibit symptoms of fatigue. In the field he retires early, but at midnight he may be found pacing in front of his tent. He falls asleep as easily and quickly as a little child—by the roadside, upon the wet ground, on the hard floor, or when a battle rages near him. No circumstance of time or place seems to affect him. His mien is never clumsy or common place ; and when mounted upon review he appears in every way the great Soldier that he is."

General Halleck in his dispatch to the War Department says : "It is the unanimous opinion here that Sherman saved the fate of the day on the 6th, and contributed largely to the glorious victory of the 7th." The Union forces engaged in these battles numbered 38,000 men. Sherman says : "Grant was there, and others of us, all young at that time, and unknown men, but our enemy was old, and Sidney Johnston, whom all the officers remembered as a power among the old officers, high above Grant, myself, or anybody else, led the enemy on that battle-field, and I almost wonder

how we conquered. But as I remarked, it was a contest for manhood—man to man—soldier to soldier. We fought, and we held our ground, and therefore accounted ourselves victorious.”

At General Halleck’s suggestion Sherman was again promoted to the rank of Major General of Volunteers, dated May 1st, 1862.

Corinth, the junction of the Mobile, Ohio, Charleston and Memphis railroads, was a very important position, and the rebel authorities sent Beauregard to defend it.

Although Sherman was yet in subordinate command, his division was in the advance; and on the 17th, 21st, and 27th of May met the rebels on the road near Corinth and fought some desperate battles. His command was first inside the rebel intrenchments at Corinth on May 28th, and on the morning of the 29th the rebels evacuated and fired the town.

Sherman was ordered to advance on Holly Springs, Miss., to take possession and destroy the railroad running from Jackson, Tennessee, to New Orleans. After burning long stretches of trestle-work on the Mississippi Central Railroad, he entered and took possession of Holly Springs June 20th.

July 11th, 1862, General Halleck was ordered to Washington to the high position of Generalissimo. He re-organized the army, and placed General Grant in command of the department of West Tennessee. Memphis had surrendered June 6th; but the region was much infested with guerillas and contraband traders. General Grant sent Sherman to take command of this important position. He was here placed in command of the 15th army corps; and eventually ordered to sail for Friars Point, eighteen miles below Helena, Arkansas, to be in position to coöperate with the main body of the troops against Vicksburg under General Grant, who were in the vicinity of the Tallahatchie River. In his order issued for the march, Sherman showed no mercy to speculators. The fleet consisted of one hundred and twenty-seven steamers, besides gun-boats. The General’s headquarters with his staff was on board the *Forest Queen*. On the 24th of December, 1862, the fleet was at Milliken’s Bend. On Christmas day the advance moved up the Yazoo River, about three miles above that portion of the stream called Old River. This was the position of the right. The left extended to within three miles of Haine’s Bluff. Sherman says: “After the Tallahatchie line was carried, Vicksburg was the next point. I went with a small and hastily collected force, and repeatedly endeavored to make a lodgment on the bluff between Vicksburg and Haine’s Bluffs, while General Grant moved with his main army so as to place himself on the high plateau behind Vicksburg.” The bank of the Yazoo is about thirty feet high at the above place, covered with an undergrowth of willows, briars, thorns, vines, and live oaks twined together. It was a difficult place to land troops, and it was dark before



all the troops got ashore. Advancing from this position the right wing of the army of the Tennessee reached Vicksburg on Saturday morning, December 27th. Colonel Murphy, whom General Grant had commanded to hold Holly Springs, to prevent a raid on his rear, had cowardly surrendered the post and prevented Grant from meeting Sherman at the appointed time and place. The line of battle was formed and Sherman ordered a charge to be made on the enemy's works which could be seen on the hillside. In the first charge these hardy Western boys had driven the rebels over a mile from their original position. The surrender of Holly Springs was yet unknown to General Sherman, and he was expecting to hear the roar of General Grant's artillery every moment. Sherman remarks: "On the very day I had agreed to be there I was there. I waited anxiously for a co-operating force inland and below us, but they did not come; and after I had made the assault I learned that the depot at Holly Springs had been broken up, and that General Grant had sent me word not to attempt it. But it was too late. Nevertheless, although we were unable to carry it at first, there were other things to be done." The attack was renewed again on Monday, but without success. The strong natural position of the enemy, with their well-chosen and strongly built fortifications, and his immense force, were obstacles that could not be overcome. If Sherman's men gained any advantage the tide was immediately turned against them by overwhelming numbers. General's Morgan, Steel, Thayer and Blair's divisions, with Hoffman's and Griffin's batteries drove the rebels from their rifle-pits, but it was found impossible to hold them in the charge up the hill. The Union army lost heavily; General Blair had 1,825 men in his brigade; his loss was 642 killed, wounded, and captured.

The dead were buried under a flag of truce, and General Sherman ordered his troops to re-embark. About this time General McClelland arrived at the scene of action. He ranked General Sherman about one month in the date of his commission. He immediately ordered the withdrawal of the vessels from the Yazoo back again into the Mississippi river, and changed the title of the Army of Tennessee to Army of the Mississippi. General Sherman announces the change in command in an order on board of the *Forest Queen*, dated at Milliken's Bend, January 4th, 1863. He says: "Ours was but part of a combined movement in which others were to assist. We were on time; unforeseen contingencies must have delayed the others. A new commander is now here to lead you. He is chosen by the President of the United States, who is charged by the Constitution to maintain and defend it, and he has the undoubted right to select his own agents. I know that all good officers and soldiers will give him the same hearty support and cheerful obedience they have heretofore given me."

On the morning of the 9th, the fleet with all on board, moved up the Mississippi. The *White Cloud* and *City of Memphis* carried the wounded and sick. *Arkansas Post*, lying nearly north of Vicksburg, was the object of the expedition. On January 11th, 1863, by the combined forces of General McClernand and Admiral Porter, the works were stormed, and the place captured at one o'clock. Over 7,000 prisoners with all their stores, animals, and munitions of war were taken.

General McClernand in changing the name of the army divided it into two corps. One commanded by General G. W. Morgan, and the other by General Sherman. The latter, although superseded, and somewhat chagrined at his previous unsucccess, contributed largely with his corps to secure the capture of the Post.

Sherman having command of the 15th corps, was sent with it by General Grant to make a feigned attack on Haine's Bluff on the Yazoo River. Grant remarks : " Sherman, I want you to move upon Haines' Bluff to enable me to pass to the next fort below—Grand Gulf." This move was made to prevent the rebel commander at Vicksburg from sending troops to the assistance of Grand Gulf. With ten steamers, Sherman again moved his men, April 29th, from Milliken's Bend up the Yazoo to Chickasaw Bayou, and from there with Admiral Porter and his gun-boats the next day the entire force pushed forward to the port. Porter opened the bombardment and continued it four hours. He then retired, and Sherman in full view of the rebels commenced landing his troops. After all had got ashore, the naval force again advanced and renewed the bombardment. The rebels now rallied all their available strength to resist an assault which they momentarily expected. The *Ruse* was a success. Sherman says : " I did make the feint on Haines's Bluff, and by that means Grant ran the blockade easily to Grand Gulf, and made a lodgment down there, and got his army up on the high plateau in the rear of Vicksburg, while the people north were beguiled into the belief that Sherman was again repulsed. But we did not repose confidence in everybody. Then followed the movement on Jackson, and the 4th of July placed us in possession of that great stronghold, Vicksburg ; and then, as Mr. Lincoln said, ' the Mississippi went unvexed to the sea.' " General Sherman with his force went from here to Young's Point, and then to *Hard Times* on the Mississippi, distance about four miles from Grand Gulf. His column reached *Hard Times* on the morning of May 6th, and on the same evening commenced crossing the ferry to join General Grant.

On the 12th of May, Sherman and McClernand's forces fought the rebels at Fourteen Mile Creek, while General McPherson defeated a strong force at Raymond. From these points all three commanders advanced on and drove the rebel General Johnston out of Jackson, Mississippi. McPherson and McClernand turned their troops and marched on Bolton,



leaving Sherman at Jackson from which point, by order of General Grant May 16th, he was instructed to make a forced march of twenty miles and join the main force at Dalton. Sherman continued his march to Bridgeport, and reached there by noon the next day.

From this point, May 18th, before dawn, he commenced his advance on Vicksburg. General Grant says of Sherman's late movement: "His demonstration at Haine's Bluff in April to hold the enemy about Vicksburg while the army was securing a foothold east of the Mississippi; his rapid marches to join the army afterwards; his management at Jackson, Mississippi, in the first attack; his almost unequaled march from Jackson to Bridgeport, and the passage of the Black River; his securing Walnut Hills on the 18th of May, attests his great merit as a soldier."

The position gained by Sherman on the 11th, was of great value in making the attack on Vicksburg. The place being too strong to be carried by assault, that mode was abandoned, and the place had to be approached by a protracted siege, resulting in its capture July 4th, 1863. All this time General Johnston, with a large rebel force, had been threatening General Grant's rear. He immediately sent a message to Sherman that he must whip Johnston fifteen miles from here. Johnston fell back upon Jackson. Sherman was now put in command of all the troops that was designated to look after Johnston, and the day fixed by General Grant to commence the grand assault on Vicksburg was July the 6th. Pemberton having surrendered on the 4th, left Sherman free to move on the 6th against Johnston, who was preparing to make a stand at Jackson.

On the 11th of July, Sherman's soldiers discovered secreted in an old building, Jeff. Davis's library and private correspondence. Among the latter were found letters of sympathy, encouragement and justification from many Northern traitors. A gold-headed cane bearing the inscription: *To Jefferson Davis, from Franklin Pierce*. These trophies were found by a foraging party in the country a few miles from Jackson, where Jeff. had stored them away for safety.

On the 13th, midst a heavy fog, Johnston made an attack on Sherman's defenses, but was repulsed. On the morning of the 16th, the rebel bands were discoursing rebel airs on their works in face of our troops. On the next morning it was discovered that Johnston had sneaked out, leaving the town of Jackson in ruins. The 15th army corps now occupied about twenty miles along the Big Black River, for the purpose of preventing raids from the enemy. Many of the Union soldiers died while in this unhealthy region, amidst the sultry air and poisonous vapors. While encamped here Mrs. Sherman and family came from their Western home to enjoy for a short time the society of their protector. In this sickly region the child that bore his father's name contracted a fever and

died in Memphis on their return home. He was a promising boy, born in San Francisco, California, June 8th, 1854, and died in Memphis, Tennessee, October 3d, 1863. A monument was erected by the 13th Regiment of Regular United States Infantry, over his remains.

This was the regiment that General McDowell gave Sherman command of in the capacity of Colonel, in 1861.

General Rosecrans, who had command of the Army of the Cumberland, was struggling to hold the region between Vicksburg and Charleston and at the battle of Chickamauga, 19th and 20th September, had been unsuccessful in his encounter with Bragg, and retreated to Chattanooga.

From Memphis to Chattanooga the distance is about 309 miles, and the Memphis and Charleston railroad connects them. Between the two places the Tennessee and Elk rivers cross the country, many of whose bridges were destroyed by the rebels.

General Grant had been put in command of the departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee. General Thomas had succeeded Rosecrans in the Department of the Cumberland. General Grant arrived at Chattanooga October 23d, 1863. Although the rebels had assembled at Salem and Tusculum to prevent Sherman making a juncture with Rosecrans. At Collierville and Cane Creek battles were fought, after which General Sherman organized at Iuka his new command, and on the 1st of November, with his army, crossed the Tennessee and passed on towards Elk river, here he was forced to take a circuitous route along the stream by way of Fayetteville, marking out the route for the different divisions of his army, he hastened on to Bridgeport, and telegraphed General Grant the position of his force, and on the 15th day of November leaving his army at Bridgeport, he arrived at Chattanooga at the headquarters of General Grant.

On the 23d, three divisions unobservedly had obtained a position behind the hills opposite the mouth of the Chickamauga. The next morning was darkened by a drizzling rain and fog. Before day the pontoon bridge 300 feet long was commenced, and before three o'clock P.M. 8000 troops were on the other side at the foot of Missionary Ridge. From this position they began to ascend the hill, completely surprising the enemy. The entire hills were studded with rebel works, towering to the very clouds. So perfectly secure did Bragg feel, that he sent Longstreet's entire corps to engage Burnside at Knoxville. On the 24th, says Grant, the whole northern extremity of Missionary Ridge to near the Tunnel was in Sherman's possession. On the morning of the 25th he was again in the saddle. General Coarse was to have the advance, and just about sunrise his bugle sounded, forward. Sherman's force was left on the outer spur of Missionary Ridge, with his right abreast of the Tunnel. His position served to draw the enemy's fire from the assaulting parties



on the hill. At 10 A.M. the fight raged furiously. General Coarse was severely wounded. Two brigades of reinforcements were sent up, but they became so crowded that they were compelled to fall away to the west of the hill. A heavy force of the enemy now emerged from under cover of the thick undergrowth on the right and rear of the supporting columns, which forced them to fall back in some confusion to the lower edge of the field, where they formed in good order. General Coarse, Colonel Loomis, and General M. L. Smith still held the attacking column proper up at the crest. General Grant says they held their position, although advanced to the very rifle-pits, without wavering, when the two reserved brigades fell back. Sherman says, the enemy made a show of pursuit, but was caught in the flank by a well-directed fire of one brigade, and forced to seek cover behind the hill. Sherman was attacking the most northern and vital point of the enemy's position. His stores were at Chickamauga, directly in Sherman's rear, which kept them uneasy for their safety. On this account the enemy moved a large force to dislodge him. Sherman says column after column was streaming towards me. Grant kept his eye fixed on this key-point and sent a division to aid, but Sherman sent back word he could hold with his present force. Hooker had swept gallantly round the enemy's left. When Grant saw the main effort of the enemy was directed against Sherman's centre, or Missionary Ridge, he ordered General Thomas to strike their left flank. He broke in the centre of the long line. They turned, but too late ; while Thomas swept everything before him, from ridge to ridge. Bragg was overwhelmingly defeated, and his routed demoralized force driven down into the vallies of Georgia. This was on the 25th of November. The victory of Chattanooga was made complete.

General Sherman at four o'clock, on the morning of the 26th, with part of General Howard's eleventh corps was in pursuit. They came up to the enemy's rear, and a fight was commenced which lasted till darkness closed in. On 27th, all the armies of Hooker and Thomas sharing in the pursuit, marching and fighting. Sherman now sent Howard to destroy the railroad between Dalton and Cleveland. This cut the communication between Bragg and Longstreet, and turned the flank of the enemy who were now engaging Hooker at Ringgold. The enemy had now been driven from this part of Tennessee. Sherman entered Ringgold and met General Grant, who ordered him to leisurely return with his army back to Chattanooga. The next day Sherman tore up the railroad between Graysville and Ringgold to the Georgia State-line ; and General Grant consented that Sherman might make a circuitous route north, as far as the Hiawasse. This was in the latter part of November. Burnside, who was at Knoxville, sent Grant an urgent appeal for relief, stating that he could only hold out until December 3d. Grant had already ordered

Granger to push on to the relief of Burnside, but the emergency was such that a more energetic commander was needed to save Knoxville from being captured by Longstreet. Grant gave this expedition in charge of Sherman, including the troops under Granger's command. Burnside had about 12000 men in the mountain town of Knoxville, which was about 84 miles distant, and relief must come to them in three days. At daylight the army passed the Hiawassee and marched to Athens, fifteen miles on the 2d day of December. They reached London, 26 miles distant. Here they had a fight with the rebel General Vaughn, who they found strongly posted, building earthworks, with artillery. When Howard's infantry arrived, it was night, and before morning Vaughn had run three locomotives and forty-eight cars into the Tennessee river, and evacuated the position, leaving four guns and a large quantity of provisions. Sherman now sent word to Colonel Long, cavalry commander, that Burnside must know in 24 hours of his approach. It was yet a distance of 40 miles to Knoxville. At daylight the cavalry was off; and the 15th corps was turned from Philadelphia to Morgentown; but here the Tennessee was too deep to ford, and General Wilson constructed a bridge made partly from the houses of the late village of Morgentown, and by dark, December 4th, the bridge was down, and the troops crossing. Long's cavalry had reached Knoxville on the night of the 3d, and on the morning of the 5th Sherman received word from Burnside that all was well. On the same evening a staff officer from Burnside rode up to announce that Longstreet had raised the siege.

It was in the early part of 1864 General Sherman planned a new and important expedition, the object was nothing less than the capture of Mobile, Alabama. In maturing his plans he discovered, by verging a little from a direct line his army would pass through the richest corn and cotton fields of the South, which were known to be swarming with slaves. By taking this course he would not only give the enemy a severe blow at one of his important points of subsistence, but he would be enabled to get between Johnston's army and Mobile, so as to assist Commodore Farragut in its capture, by hurling his legions against it from the land side. Having matured his plans, by his orders portions of the 16th and 17th army corps, commanded respectfully by Hurlburt and the gallant McPherson, left Vicksburg February 3d. General W. S. Smith who was also to take part, was to leave Memphis, Tennessee, with 8000 cavalry two days before, and was commanded to join Sherman about 150 miles from Vicksburg, at Meridian. After crossing the Big Black River and moving along by Champion Hills and Clinton, Sherman was met at Jackson by Hurlburt and McPherson, who had taken different routes. Parts of his army were here united. And some resistance was offered by the rebels, at Line Creek; skirmishing took place, but the enemy fell back, while Sherman pushed



on, taking the towns of Quitman and Enterprise, reaching the Big Chunky River and Meridian, February 13th.

It was at this place and time General Smith from Memphis, with 8000 cavalry, was commanded to join General Sherman, but instead of doing so he had only left Memphis that day, February 13th, and instead of getting 8000, he only had procured 3000 cavalry. With this small force he was 13 days behind time, and 200 miles distant away. This failure compelled Sherman to abandon further prosecution of the Mobile part of the enterprise ; and after tearing up the Mississippi Central Railroad from Jackson to Meridian, and destroying the rebel machine shop, then in full blast at the latter place, and dispersing the rebel force stationed there, he thought it hazardous to go further without cavalry and returned. Although all was not accomplished anticipated at the outset, on account of General Smith's failure, yet glorious results were achieved in liberating about 8000 slaves, who followed the army on its return, like the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, taking with them the costly vehicles and luxuries of their terror-stricken masters, who fled at Sherman's approach. Four thousand rebel prisoners, thousands of horses, mules, and cattle were brought away, and over \$2,000,000 worth of rebel property destroyed. The expedition returned to Vicksburg with trifling loss ; (while Sherman went to New Orleans on the gunboat *Diana*) having been absent about a month. While at Meridian, February 13th, Sherman congratulated his troops in these words :

“The General commanding conveys his congratulations and thanks to the officers and men composing this command for the most successful accomplishment of one of the great problems of the war. Meridian the great railway centre of the southwest is now in our possession, and by industry and hard work can be rendered useless to the enemy, and deprive him of the chief source of supply to his armies. Secrecy in plan and rapidity of execution accomplish the best results of war ; and the General commanding assures all that by following their leaders fearlessly and with confidence, they will in time reap the reward so dear to us all—a peace that will never again be disturbed in our country by a discontented minority.”

While Sherman's men were resting from the “big raid,” as he called his Meridian expedition, the President, in accordance with a law previously passed by Congress, creating the office of Lieutenant-General, conferred the honor of it upon Major-General Grant. This order dated March 12th, 1864.

*First*—At his own request, relieved General Halleck, and assigned General Grant to the command of the armies of the United States ; headquarters of the army in Washington. Grant's headquarters in the field.

*Second*—General Halleck is made Chief of Staff of the army under the

direction of the Secretary of War and the Lieutenant-General commanding, whose orders Halleck was also to respect and obey.

*Third*.—Assigned the command of the military division of the Mississippi to Major-General W. T. Sherman, composed of the Department of the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Arkansas.

*Fourth*.—gave command of the department and army of the Tennessee to Major-General J. B. McPherson.

General Sherman had now under his command about the 1st of May, 1864 :

*Army of the Cumberland.—Gen. Thomas commanding.*

Infantry, . . . . .	54,568
Artillery, . . . . .	2,377
Cavalry, . . . . .	3,828
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Total, . . . . .	60,773
Guns, . . . . .	130

*Army of the Tennessee.—Maj. Gen. McPherson commanding.*

Infantry, . . . . .	22,437
Artillery, . . . . .	1,404
Cavalry, . . . . .	624
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Total, . . . . .	24,465
Guns, . . . . .	96

*Army of the Ohio.—Maj. Gen. Schofield commanding.*

Infantry, . . . . .	11,183
Artillery, . . . . .	679
Cavalry, . . . . .	1,679
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Total, . . . . .	13,541
Guns, . . . . .	28

The entire force numbered 98,779 troops, and 254 guns.

On May 6th the armies were located as follows : That of the Cumberland at or near Ringgold, Georgia ; that of the Tennessee at Gordon's Mill on the Chickamauga ; and that of the Ohio near Red Clay on the Georgia line near Dalton. This town is situated on the railroad between Chattanooga and Atlanta with Ringgold to the northwest.

GENERAL SHERMAN ASSUMES COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Thus stood the forces when Sherman took command, and around him stood Generals McPherson, Hooker, Hurlburt, Thomas, Logan, Schofield and Howard. Sherman having been foiled in his designs on Mobile, by



the failure of General Smith to coöperate, now that he was invested with supreme command, at first contemplated an advance on Richmond by way of Lynchburg, Virginia, making Knoxville, in East Tennessee, his base. Every military man could see that Lynchburg was the key to the rebel position of the East. But Sherman saw that with 100,000 men it would be impossible to protect his long line of supplies, most of which came from Louisville, Kentucky, and at the same time protect Middle Tennessee from invasion. Longstreet, the rebel commander, who had been wintering his army in East Tennessee, hearing General Schofield was making preparations to move on Knoxville, and believing it only the advance of Sherman's entire force, withdrew from East Tennessee before the campaigning season commenced. Sherman, therefore, gave up the contemplated Richmond enterprise; and as this left Johnston in command of the only large rebel army in the southwest, he resolved to pursue him into Georgia.

The grand advance in pursuit of Johnston commenced about the 7th of May. He was strongly fortified at Buzzard Roost, with his outpost extending to Tunnel Hill. General Thomas drove the rebels from this place on the 7th, and on the 11th, under the entire rebel fire, occupied Buzzard Roost. The former is a narrow gorge or pass in the Chatoogato Mountains, flanked on one side by Rocky Faced Ridge (not unlike the Palisades of the Hudson River), and on the other by the greater but less precipitous elevation called John's Mountain. This gorge was commanded on the Dalton side by an amphitheater of hills, which, as well as Rocky Face and John's Mountain, was crowned with batteries, lined with infantry, and terraced by sharp shooters.

The only pass through the mountain was the railroad and wagon road, and Johnston had dammed a neighboring mountain stream and conveyed it into the gorge so that the water over the wagon and railroad track was from eight to ten feet deep. In addition, piles were driven down filling the defile, which made an additional barrier. It was so strong a position, that the rebels felt perfectly secure, as they believed it unassailable. Fighting had commenced at Tunnel Hill, and after two days reconnaissance and sharp skirmishing, proved to General Sherman that an attack in front would be attended with too great a waste of life, he resolved that the pass must be turned, in looking about how to do it, he discovered a pass about fifteen miles to the southwest called Snake Creek Gap. Rising on one side is Rocky Face, with its flint sides, on the other, Oak Knob. The deep dark forests concealed the movements of the troops under General Morgan, and others kept the rebels in constant dread of an assault.

A corporal of Company I, sixteenth Illinois, broke from the line (so says General Morgan,) and under cover of projecting ledges, got up

within twenty feet of a squad of rebels on the summit. Taking shelter from the sharpshooters, he called out :

“ I say rebs, don't you want to hear Old Abe's Amnesty Proclamation read ? ”

Yes, was the unanimous cry, give us the ape's Proclamation.

“ Attention ! ” commanded the corporal, and in a loud clear voice he read it ; when he arrived at that part where the negro was referred to, the rebs cried out, none of your d—d abolitionism, look out for rocks. which they began to shower down over his hiding place. Do you want to hear it again cried the corporal ; not to-day you bloody yank, now crawl down, and we wont shoot, was the response.

General Howard, in an elevated position on Rocky Face Ridge, seeing a squad of rebels upon a projecting ledge below. In the absence of hand grenades, the General, tired of gazing at them, lit the fuses of a few shells and dropped them down into the center of the group.

The flank movement had now commenced in earnest, led on by General McPherson with the 15th and 16th corps, and Garrard's division of cavalry, supported by General Thomas with the 14th and 20th corps, while General Howard and Schofield, with the 4th and 23d corps, and Stoneman's division of cavalry amused the enemy in front. Suddenly General Johnston discovering that his strong position had been flanked, and his means of communication in danger of being cut off, abandoned this Gibraltar of the South, and fell back upon Rensselaer. This town is situated in Gordon County, Georgia, on the north bank of the Coosawattee River which flows southwest, changing its name to the Oostalantee, and joins Etowah at Rome, the two forming the Coosa, which joins the Tallapoosa, forms the Alabama, and flows into the Gulf of Mobile. Rensselaer is due south, about fifty-six miles by railroad from Chattanooga, and eighty-two miles by rail from Atlanta.

The pursuit continued, and for three days the sound of battle could be heard among the hills, until Sherman on the 15th and 16th of May defeated the rebels, capturing six trains going south for supplies ; 1200 prisoners and eight guns, and a large quantity of stores. The rebels in their retreat from Rensselaer destroyed the railroad bridge on the Western and Atlanta Railroad, 600 feet long.

From this position Johnston again fell back, directly pursued by General Thomas, while McPherson and Schofield took different routes. The conflict raging both by night and by day, the darkest hours of midnight frequently lit up by the flame of the guns. Over mountain and stream the brave Union army bore down on the retreating rebels. When near Dallas, while the troops were engaged in slumber, they were awakened by melodious notes of Old Hundred, given forth by one of the brigade bands ; soldiers employed in preparing their meals listened for a mo-



ment, when all at once the bands of brigade after brigade struck in and made the hills resound with the music ; when they ceased to reverberate, five thousand voices were raised in *praise of God from whom all blessings flow*. After breakfast the soldiers of many hard fought battles broke camp and fell into line. General Thomas' troops, with the fearless Hooker in advance, was sweeping towards Dallas, when the enemy crossed their path. The action of New Hope Church came off here. General Stoneman captured from the Third Texas Cavalry a *black flag with a skeleton figured upon it, together with death's head and cross bones*. This Texas company is said to have carried this flag from the first. Our boys after this took no prisoners from the Third Texas cavalry.

General McPherson's corps did the principal part of the fighting at Dallas. The loss of the rebels amounted to about 5,500 killed, wounded and prisoners. The month of May had closed with the battle at Dallas. The troops had been pressing hard down on the rebel force, fighting and marching from Chattanooga, now about one hundred miles. It was a herculean task ; but the glorious army of the Union kept unbroken ranks. A battle was fought on the 21st of June. It is not our province to give all the skirmishes in the running fight, but only such as appeared directly fruitful of results. The battle of the 21st revealed the outposts of Johnston's new and strong position at Lost Mountain, Pine Hill, and Kenesaw Mountain. Here he was found intrenched on these bold peaks connected together by a line of ridges and his lines closely circumscribed by ours. No place were they more than a musket shot apart. This strong position was only twenty-six miles north of Atlanta. Johnston's right rested on Kenesaw Mountain, on the railroad, four miles north of Marietta ; his left on Lost Mountain, some six miles west of Kenesaw. Between these two formidable ridges his forces had been gradually forced back from a triangle with the apex towards us, until his line was a faint crescent, his center still being slightly advanced right, left, and center their position was closely invested. Our troops shod parallel after parallel, until the country in the rear was furrowed with rifle-pits and abatis and scared with a labyrinth of roads. To add to our difficulties, this region was completely covered with primitive forests, and as incredible as it seems, after two days' skirmishing, we developed the enemy's position.

A country robbed of its substance by its self-styled defenders, unable to even feed its non-combatants who depended upon the Union army for food which had to be carried through a hostile country over a distance of two hundred miles on a single-track railroad. This was the situation when the mighty task of dislodging Johnston's rebel army from its last strong position was undertaken. An officer writing from the spot remarks : "The ridge in front of Kenesaw commences about Wallace's House on the Burnt Hickory and Marietta road, and extends thence across

the railroad behind Noonday Creek about two miles in an east-by-north direction. Lost Mountain and Kenesaw are about eleven hundred feet high; Pine Hill and Brushy Hill about four hundred feet high, and the ridges everywhere about one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet, or about the same as, and, in fact, not very dissimilar to Missionary Ridge at Chattanooga. The enemy was strongly intrenched behind log barricades, protected by earth thrown against them, with a ditch, formidable abatis, and in many places a *chevaux-de-frise* of sharpened fence-rails besides. Their intrenchments were well protected by thick traverses, and at frequent intervals arranged with emplacements and embrasures for field-guns. The thickness of this parapet was generally six to eight feet *at top* on the infantry line, and from twelve to fifteen feet thick at the top, where field-guns were posted, or where fire from our artillery was anticipated. The amount of digging and intrenching that Johnston's army had done is almost incredible. General Sherman's tactics resulted in wresting Lost Mountain, Pine Hill, the ridge in front of Kenesaw, and Brushy Hill from the enemy, and forcing back his two wings, Kenesaw Mountain operating as a sort of hinge, until his left was behind Olley's Creek, and his right behind the stream which flows between the houses named on the map as McAffie and Wiley Roberts. Kenesaw Mountain then became the projecting fortress of the defensive line, the wings being turned backward from it. It is a rocky eminence, rather precipitous, thickly wooded, and crowned with batteries.

"Our respective lines were about eight or nine miles in length, from six hundred to seven hundred yards distant from each other, and strongly intrenched. Skirmishing went on incessantly, and artillery duels occurred two or three times daily. The enemy at different times made some dozen or more assaults, sometimes getting within fifty yards of our intrenchments, but were always repulsed, and generally with heavy loss to them. To gain certain positions, we opened a heavy artillery fire upon their whole line, pressed their two flanks heavily, and made assaults in two places upon their centre. The assaults were unsuccessful; but the Twenty-third Corps, upon their extreme right, gained important advantages of position."

Wrote another: "We fancy out here that the over-expectant loyal public are disappointed at the seemingly slow progress of our cause in this department. It is only necessary to state that the immense amount of supplies required for an army of this size, to be transported a distance of over two hundred miles through the enemy's country, with a single-track railroad, is a gigantic undertaking. As for subsisting upon the country, that is out of the question, the inhabitants themselves depending upon the charity of the 'ruthless invaders' for daily sustenance. Forage, ordnance stores, and commissary supplies, must all flow through



this single artery with lightning rapidity, if we would replenish these stores as fast as exhausted. Nothing but the most thorough organization and complete system, with great energy in the various departments, could ever have prevented our troops from suffering for the want of food and clothing. The public can never appreciate the innumerable natural obstacles that have embarrassed the operations of this unflinching army. The truly loyal do not demand any such explanations as these, for with such leaders as Grant and Sherman, apprehension is groundless; but of late the Copperhead press, not content with misrepresenting and belittling General Grant's victorious advance toward the rebel capital, sneer at General Sherman's generalship, and insinuate already, in the face of brilliant successes achieved, that the 'On to Atlanta' movement is a failure.

"Standing upon the martial-crowned top of Pine Mountain, amid the fluttering of those peculiar flags used by the Signal Corps, we learned that from this eminence were transmitted, in those mysterious signals, all the movements of the enemy, and such operations of our army as were necessary. In front of you stands the defiant, frowning Kenesaw, with its thick woods concealing the rebel batteries from view that line its steep sides, while five or six miles west of Kenesaw, Lost Mountain lifts its sugar-loaf crest to the sky, solitary and alone, looming up against the gorgeously-tinted clouds that deck the heavens. Just before you, looking south, can be discerned the suburbs of Marietta, with the Georgia Military Institute standing out prominently in the picture. Gazing down the steep declivity into the thickly-wooded vales which lie at the spectator's feet, a magnificent panorama of natural beauty is unfurled. So close are the lines of the contending armies, that the dense volumes of smoke from their camp fires roll up united, but hang in portentous clouds over friend and foe.

"While wrapt in silent admiration, mixed with a deep sense of awe at the wild and romantic scene before me, the bands encamped in the valley which encircles the base of the mountain, struck up the 'John Brown' or 'Glory Hallelujah Chorus,' the echoes of which vibrated, re-echoed, and, finally, as the sun's departing rays began to fade from the horizon, its pathetic notes died away, or mingled with the rattle of musketry which flashed along our skirmish line. I can never forget the peculiar impression photographed upon my mind by the swelling of this historical anthem of Freedom's first battle, as it grandly sailed over Pine Mountain. My reverie was soon disturbed by the sudden roar of many batteries belching out their savage peals with fearful rapidity from both sides, and for several minutes quite an artillery duel was indulged in, interspersed with short rolls of musketry. It was curious to watch the rebel guns, as the smoke lazily curled from the cannon's mouth, while the solid shot whizzed, and shells shrieked over our breastworks."

“ Among the incidents of this part of the great campaign was a dress parade of the rebels on the top of Kenesaw Mountain. Our lines were so near, that the display was distinctly visible and audible. Below the regiment, whose bayonets gleamed in the rays of the setting sun, were the bristling rifle-pits. A courier suddenly dashed up to the adjutant, and handed him a despatch from General Johnston, announcing that General Sherman had brought his army so far south, that his line of supplies was longer than he could hold; that he was too far from his base—just where their commanding general wished to get him; that a part of their army would hold the railroad, thirty miles north of the Etowah; and that the great railroad bridge at Allatoona had been completely destroyed; that in a few days Sherman would be out of supplies, because he could bring no more trains through by the railroad. They were urged to maintain a bold front, and in a few days the Yankees would be forced to retreat. Breathless silence evinces the attention which every word of the order receives, as the adjutant reads. Cheers are about to be given, when, hark! loud whistles from Sherman’s cars, at Big Shanty, interrupt them. The number of whistles increase. Allatoona, Ackworth, and Big Shanty depots resound with them. Supplies have arrived. The effect can easily be imagined. The illustration was so apt, the commentary so appropriate, that it was appreciated at the instant. ‘Bully for the base of supplies!’ ‘Bully for the long line!’ ‘Three cheers for the big bridge!’ ‘Here’s your Yankee cars!’ ‘There’s Sherman’s rations!’ Bedlam was loose along their line for a short time.

“ There was a tree in front of General Herron’s division of the Fifteenth Army Corps, to which was given the name of *fatal tree*. Seven soldiers in succession, who hid behind it to shoot, were killed. Then a board was put on the tree, on which was chalked ‘dangerous.’ The rebels soon shot this sign to pieces, when a sergeant took his position there, and in less than two minutes two Minnie balls pierced his body, making the eighth victim of rebel bullets—a tragical *item* in war’s dread work.

#### THE BATTLE OF KENESAW MOUNTAIN.

General Hooker was on the right and front, while General Howard was on the left and front. June 14th a heavy cannonading commenced; the fire of the artillery could be heard for miles. Bishop General Polk, one of the main stays in the rebel army fell in the early part of this engagement. On the same night the rebels abandoned Pine Mountain. The gallant Thomas and Schofield immediately advanced, and soon found the foe strongly intrenched along a ridge of rocky hills, running from Kenesaw to Lost Mountain. General McPherson crowded the rebel lines on the left, and on the 17th, just as General Sherman was about to order a



charge the enemy deserted his breastworks that connected Lost with Kenesaw Mountain. Onward the victorious troops pursued until among the Kenesaw peaks they discovered the front lines of the enemy, the outer lines having fallen back to cover Marietta and the railroad to the Chattahoochie. General Hooker led the charge against this rebel stronghold. New York and Illinois regiments, here together, freely shed their patriotic blood on this mountain top. The 27th Illinois regiment suffered severely. Michael Delaney, its color-bearer, in advance of his regiment, after being wounded, leaped on the enemy's breastworks, holding aloft the starry banner of his country. While thus standing on the enemy's works, two rebels approached him on each side and thrust their bayonets into his already wounded body. While thus mortally wounded, he clasped the flag to his breast and bore it back in safety to his comrades, where he soon after bled to death. On the night of July 2d, General McPherson threw his army in a position to threaten Nickajack Creek and Turner's Ferry across Chattahoochie. On the morning of the 3d, Kenesaw was abandoned: our skirmishers could be seen on the mountain top. General Thomas' whole line was then moved forward to the railroad and turned south in pursuit of the retreating enemy. Marietta was entered at half past eight, A. M., just as the enemy's cavalry evacuated the place. Johnston had thrown up intrenchments across the road at Smyrna, camp-meeting ground, five miles from Marietta, but from this strong position again falls back.

On the 4th of July the entire line of the enemy's pits were captured. The next morning he had abandoned Nickajack Creek and Turner's Ferry. General Sherman now moved his army to the Chattahoochie, General Thomas's left flank resting on it, near Price's Ferry; General McPherson's right at the mouth of Nickajack; and General Schofield in the reserve, while the enemy lay behind a line of unusual strength, covering the railroad and pontoon bridges, and beyond the Chattahoochie. From the heights on the banks of this stream could be seen the forests that surround Atlanta; the spires of the churches and public buildings that adorned the great city are distinctly visible. On the 4th, the curiosity was so great to see Atlanta, many of the soldiers straggled from their regiments and climbed the hill-sides to get a glimpse at the promised place.

On the 10th, Sherman held possession of the country north and west of the river. The rebel army was intrenched on the heights overlooking the valley of Peach Tree Creek, his right beyond the Augusta road to the east, and his left well toward Turner's Ferry on the Chattahoochie; general distance from Atlanta about four miles. The Richmond authorities becoming disgusted with General Johnston's habitual retreating which he had continued from Dalton; believing his policy created distrust in the rebel cause, Jeff Davis removed him, and appointed General

Hood to take command. Johnston's policy had been to intrench and await attack; but Hood now determined to inaugurate different tactics, that of attack, which he boldly commenced on Sherman's left wing, but every effort of the new general proved unavailing, as Sherman continued not only to advance, but to elose in upon Atlanta; his line, on July 22d, formed a general eircle of about two miles radius. Hood who had found that Sherman could not be driven back, began to oecupy a line of finished redoubts which had been prepared for more than a year, covering all the roads leading into Atlanta. Sherman remarks: "We found him also busy in eonneeting these redoubts with eurtains strengthened by rifle trenches, abatis, and chevaux-de-frise."

"General McPherson, who had advanceed from Deeatur, continued to follow substantially the railroad, with the Fifteenth Corps, General Logan; the Seventeenth, General Blair, on its left; and the Sixteenth, General Dodge, on its right; but as the general advance of all the armies contraeted the eircle, the Sixteenth Corps, General Dodge, was thrown out of line by the Fifteenth eonneeting on the right with General Schofield near the Howard House. General McPherson, the night before, had gained a hill to the south and east of the railroad, where the Seventeenth Corps had, after a severe fight, driven the enemy, and it gave him a most eommanding position, within easy view of the very heart of the city. He had thrown out working parties to it, and was making preparations to oecupy it in strength with batteries. The Sixteenth Corps, General Dodge, was ordered from right to left to oecupy this position and make it a strong general left flank. General Dodge was moving by a diagonal path, or wagon traek, leading from the Deeatur road in the direetion of General Blair's left flank. General McPherson remained with me until near noon, when some reports reaching us that indicated a movement of the enemy on that flank, he mounted and rode away with his staff. I must here also state that the day before I had detaehed General Garrard's eavalry to go to Covington, on the Augusta road, forty-two miles east of Atlanta, and from that point to send detachments to break the two important bridges aecross the Yellow and Uleo-fauhatehee Rivers, tributaries of Oemulgee, and General McPherson had also left his wagon train at Deeatur under a guard of three regiments, commanded by Colonel, now General Sprague. Soon after General McPherson left me at the Howard House, as before described, I heard the sounds of musketry to our left rear—at first mere pattering shots, but soon they grew in volume, aecompanied with artillery, and about the same time the sound of guns was heard in the direetion of Deeatur. No doubt eould long be entertained of the enemy's plan of action, which was to throw a superior force on our left flank, while he held us with his forts in front, the only question being as to the amount of force he



could employ at that point. I hastily transmitted orders to all points of our centre and right to press forward, and to give full employment to all the enemy in his lines, and for General Schofield to hold as large a force in reserve as possible, awaiting developments. Not more than half an hour after General McPherson had left me, viz., about 12½ p. m. of the 22d, his adjutant-general, Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, rode up and reported that General McPherson was either dead, or a prisoner; that he had ridden from me to General Dodge's column, moving as heretofore described, and had sent off nearly all his staff and orderlies on various errands, and himself had passed into a narrow path or road that led to the left and rear of General Giles A. Smith's division, which was General Blair's extreme left; that a few minutes after he had entered the woods a sharp volley was heard in that direction, and his horse had come out riderless, having two wounds. The suddenness of this terrible calamity would have overwhelmed me with grief, but the living demanded my whole thoughts. I instantly despatched a staff officer to General John A. Logan, commanding the Fifteenth Corps, to tell him what had happened; that he must assume command of the Army of the Tennessee, and hold stubbornly the ground already chosen.

“ But among the dead was Major-General McPherson, whose body was recovered and brought to me in the heat of battle, and I had it sent, in charge of his personal staff, back to Marietta, on its way to his northern home. He was a noble youth, of striking personal appearance, of the highest professional capacity, and with a heart abounding in kindness, that drew to him the affections of all men. His sudden death devolved the command of the Army of the Tennessee on the no less brave and gallant General Logan, who nobly sustained his reputation and that of his veteran army, and avenged the death of his comrade and commander.”

General Sherman in a letter (dated in the field near Atlanta, July 30th, 1864) to a Massachusetts State Agent, who had written him from Chattanooga, enquiring where in the rebel states would be the best to organize colored troops? Sherman *sarcastically* advises him that it would be a waste of time and money to open rendezvous in Northern Georgia, as he has not seen an able bodied man white or black, that was not in the Union or rebel armies. But advised him to start recruiting depots at Macon, Georgia, and Columbus Miss.; Salem, Montgomery, and Mobile, Alabama; and Columbus, Milledgeville, and Savannah Georgia; the above places were, at the date of Sherman writing, all under rebel rule. He says:

“ You speak of the impression going abroad that I am opposed to the organization of colored regiments. My opinions are usually very positive, and there is no reason why you should not know them. Though entertaining profound reverence for our Congress, I do doubt their wisdom in the passage of this law :

“ 1st. Because civilian agents about an army are a nuisance.

“ 2d. The duty of citizens to fight for their country is too sacred a one to be peddled off by buying up the refuse of other States.

“ 3d. It is unjust to the brave soldiers and volunteers who are fighting, as those who compose this army do, to place them on a par with the class of recruits you are after.

“ 4th. The negro is in a transition state, and is not the equal of the white man.

“ 5th. He is liberated from his bondage by the act of war ; and the armies in the field are entitled to all his assistance and labor and fighting *in addition* to the proper quotas of the States.

“ 6th. This bidding and bantering for recruits, white and black, has delayed the reënforcement of our armies at the times when such reënforcements would have enabled us to make our successes permanent.

“ 7th. The law is an experiment which, pending war, is unwise and unsafe, and has delayed the universal draft, which I firmly believe will become necessary to overcome the wide-spread resistance offered us ; and I also believe the universal draft will be wise and beneficial ; for under the providence of God it will separate the sheep from the goats, and demonstrate what citizens will fight for their country, and what will only talk.

“ No one will infer from this that I am not a friend to the negro, as well as the white race. I contend that the treason and rebellion of the master freed the slave, and the armies I have commanded have conducted to safe points more negroes than those of any general officer in the army ; but I prefer negroes for pioneers, teamsters, cooks, and servants ; others gradually to experiment in the art of the soldier, beginning with the duties of local garrisons, such as we had at Memphis, Vicksburg, Natchez, Nashville, and Chattanooga ; but I would not draw on the poor race for too large a proportion of its active, athletic young men, for some must remain to seek new homes and provide for the old and young, the feeble and helpless. These are some of my peculiar notions, but I assure you they are shared by a large proportion of our fighting men.”

Headley remarks : “ The honesty, directness, and philanthropy of these views, will command respect from those who opposed them, and would raise an army of emancipated slaves. With him it was not contempt of the negro, but the scorn of a timid, easy policy by the North, while exactly the opposite course was taken by the South.”

General Sherman having ordered from Chattanooga four rifled-cannon, whose calibre was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, on August 10th the work of destruction commenced. Night and day these new messengers of peace continued to throw their globes of fire into the very heart of Atlanta, kindling con-



flagration on every side. This was the strongest position that could be found to impede and check Sherman's march to the sea. Johnston was considered unequal to the task of its defence. Thus Hood, being foolhardy, and reckless of human life, was chosen to command.

General Stoneman, having gone on a cavalry raid to tear up the Macon railroad, being suddenly captured, the rebel General Wheeler appeared before Dalton. Approaching the town which was being held by a garrison of 400 men under Colonel Seibold, Wheeler demanded its surrender, which was refused : Seibold alleging he was placed there to hold, and not to surrender the place. General Steadman arrived with sufficient force from Chattanooga in time to prevent the little garrison from being captured, and the rebels were forced to retreat.

Sherman now gave orders that the sick and all surplus wagons and encumbrances of every kind should be sent back to the intrenched position near the river Bridge. This reduced the number of wagons to 3000, and ambulances to 1000 ; and on the night of August 25th the army of the Tennessee moved to the West Point railroad with orders to spend one day in destroying it. General Howard moved on to the right towards Jonesboro. General Thomas had the centre, whose goal was Conch's, on the Decator and Fayetteville road. General Schofield had the extreme left. General Hood observing Sherman sending his long wagon train to the rear, thought it an indication of a retreat, and began to grow merry. By this strategy Sherman divided the rebel forces at Jonesboro and Atlanta, placing the Union army like a wedge between them.

"During the night of the 28th, the rest of the army being well under way, the Twenty-Third Corps withdrew and followed the general movement toward the Macon road ; General Schofield timing his movements with the corps further on the left, which had the longer arc of the circle to traverse. The general line of march for the Twenty-Third corps was toward the junction of the two railroads at East Point, the Third division, under General Cox, holding the advance, and with the Second Division, under General Hascall, occasionally erecting temporary works to guard against threatened attacks from the enemy, who were on the alert against this demonstration. On the 31st, these two divisions effected a junction with General Stanley, of the Fourth Corps. General Hascall's division went into position to guard the left towards East Point, and General Cox pushed forward toward the Macon road, which was reached by two or three o'clock P.M., General Stanley, of the Fourth Corps, striking at about the same time. The troops of these two corps at once set to work fortifying, while details were sent out, which destroyed the track for miles. No opposition was encountered, and by dark strong works had been thrown up, facing east and south, the work of destruction on the railroad being continued through the night. On the morning of the 1st of

September, Newton's and Kimball's divisions were marching along the line of the railroad the length of a brigade front, and at a given signal the ties and rails were lifted from their bed, piled up and burnt. Thus a mile and a half was turned up and destroyed in half an hour. An advance of another mile and a half was then made down the road, and the operation repeated. Thus alternately marching and destroying the road, the two divisions marched a distance of ten miles, to within two miles of Jonesboro', where they formed a junction with the Fourteenth Corps. Soon after the Twenty-third corps, which followed the Fourth, came into position on its left. Further to the left was the army of Tennessee.

“Previous to this the enemy had discovered the direction of General Sherman's march, and two corps under Hardee had been sent to confront him at Jonesboro', Hood meanwhile remaining for the defence of Atlanta. During the night of August 30th the march of a rebel column was heard on our left and centre, and in the morning two corps were found massed on our right. At daybreak, the Second brigade of Hazen's division of the Fifteenth Corps advanced, and drove the enemy from a hill, which gave our artillery command at Jonesboro', and the railroad less than one half mile distant. This success was immediately followed up by the reinforcement of the brigade holding the hill, by a brigade from Osterhaus' division. Toward three P.M. the enemy appeared in front of Hazen's position, Lee's corps advancing to the assault through a field of corn, while Hardee's Corps attempted a flanking movement on the right, which was checked by Harrow's division. Both divisions were soon engaged in checking the desperate and determined assault with which the enemy sought to overwhelm them. The rebels were driven back, only to rally again and again for the assault, until after two hours of desperate fighting they were finally repulsed. They had fortunately struck a position which we held too strongly to be easily dislodged. A reinforcement of two regiments was sent during the attack, by General Howard to General Wood, and a brigade of the Seventeenth corps, Colonel Bryant's, to General Hazen. Failing in this assault, Cleburne's rebel division marched to our extreme right, and assaulted Kilpatrick, who held the bridge on Flint River. General Kilpatrick succeeded, however, in holding his position until relieved by General Giles B. Smith's division.

“During the night Hardee despatched Lee's corps to look after the safety of Atlanta, so that but a single rebel corps was found opposed to our army on the morning of September 1st. This corps lay in position in front of Jonesboro', with their right resting on the railroad. Having failed in the assault with which they hoped to drive back our army, they were prepared to resist its further advance in the best position they could secure. They had a large number of guns in position, which did effective service during the day. Late in the afternoon General Davis



formed his troops for a charge upon the enemy's position; Brigadier General Carlin's division on the left, and Brigadier General Morgan, joining Fifteenth Corps on the right, General Baird being in reserve. The line was formed in the arc of a circle on the edge of the woods, the two flanks thrown forward overlapping the enemy, who held a position on some commanding ridges in front, covering Jonesboro'. In the face of a deadly fire of musketry, shell, and canister, the gallant Fourteenth Corps charged the rebel position, driving them from their breastworks and capturing many prisoners, including Brigadier General Govan, several colonels and other commissioned officers. Eight guns were also taken, among them part of Loomis's battery captured at Chickamauga. The troops captured belonged to the fighting division of Cleburne. The approach of night prevented pursuit of the broken columns of the rebels, who escaped under cover of the darkness.

"At daybreak on the 2d, the Fourth and Twenty-third Corps advanced in pursuit of the retreating rebels, who came to bay near Lovejoy's Station, six miles beyond Jonesboro', toward Macon, taking position on a wooded ridge behind a swamp bordering a creek. Some skirmishing was had with the enemy's first line until night—which was spent by our troops in intrenching. The enemy being found in strong position, and his retreat being assured, no further advance was attempted.

"Meatime Atlanta was alive with excitement. Despair had succeeded confidence as it became known that Hardee had been driven from Jonesboro' south, while Hood was left in Atlanta with his communications severed, and our army threatening both from the north and the south. Early on Thursday, September 1st, the removal of supplies and ammunition commenced, and was continued through the day. Large quantities of provisions that could not be removed were distributed to the citizens; the storehouses at the same time being thrown open to the troops as they passed through the city. The rolling stock of the railroad, consisting of about one hundred cars, and six engines, was gathered together and destroyed. The cars were laden with the surplus ammunition taken out on the Augusta Railroad, and set on fire and blown up, making the earth tremble with the explosion. Over one thousand bales of cotton were also given to the torch. The scene of confusion and excitement among the town people when it became evident that the city was to be evacuated, is beyond description. Every possible and impossible vehicle was brought into requisition to carry away the effects of the inhabitants, who, in sorrowful procession, took up their line of march toward the South. For the third time the peripatetic *Memphis Appeal* was on the wing, its editor reporting himself at this time 'thoroughly demoralized.' From the shanties and cellars of the city swarmed out the lower classes of the population to seize what they could from the general wreck.

The explosion of ammunition was heard by General Slocum, of the Twentieth Corps, seven miles distant. Suspecting the cause, he sent out a heavy column to reconnoitre at daybreak on the morning of the 2d instant. They met with no opposition, and pushed forward on the roads leading into Atlanta from the north and northwest. Arriving near the city, they were met by the mayor, Mr. Calhoun, who formally surrendered the city. The formalities disposed of, our troops entered Atlanta with banners flying and music playing, the inhabitants looking on in silence. General Slocum established his headquarters at the Trout House, the principal hotel of the city. Eleven heavy guns, mostly sixty-six pounders, were found in the forts of the city, and others were subsequently discovered buried in fictitious graves. About three thousand muskets, in good order, and three locomotives were also secured, besides large quantities of manufactured tobacco. About two hundred rebel stragglers were gathered up by the Second Massachusetts, which was detailed for provost duty, its colonel, Coggs well, being appointed provost marshal. But a small proportion of the inhabitants remained in the city, and these principally of the lower classes, and tradesmen who proposed to make an honest penny out of the army. Their hopes were speedily cut short by a peremptory order from General Sherman ordering all civilians from the city."

In looking back upon this campaign, a very remarkable feature of it was the protection of his line of communication: "It was not a little precarious, and more than once aroused the anxiety of the nation. It might well occasion solicitude. His base was, in one sense, not at Chattanooga, but at Nashville; with the former point as a secondary base. Accordingly, the enemy bent his efforts not only to breaking the railroad between Atlanta and Ringgold, striking it at Dalton and Calhoun, but also to raiding on the road from Chattanooga back to Nashville. From Atlanta to Chattanooga the railroad is one hundred and thirty-five miles long; from Chattanooga to Nashville only a little less. With this line of two hundred and fifty miles, stretched clear across the great Alleghany chain from flank to flank, in a disputed country, filled with guerillas and hostile inhabitants, with myriads of nooks and eyries in the mountain regions, apt for the assemblage and protection of marauding bands, with that attenuated line infested by many squadrons of the best cavalry of the Confederacy, long accustomed to be victorious everywhere—cavalry who had devastated almost with impunity the broad States of Kentucky and Tennessee, again and again, under such bold and skilful leaders as John Morgan, Forrest, Wheeler, Stephen Lee, Rhoddy, and Chalmers—in spite of all, for four eventful months, through victory and repulse, in action and repose alike, Sherman has been able to keep his lines strong and clear.



“While all the Southern newspapers, and many Southern generals, and while even English journals of great ability were proving by all the laws of logic and strategy that Sherman *must* now retreat, Sherman did not retreat. At the very moment, indeed, when the exultation of the Confederates was the highest at the absolute certainty of his downfall, Sherman pushed on and took Atlanta, ending logic and campaign both at once.”

“*Atlanta is ours, and fairly won,*” is the sublime language of General Sherman.

This glorious writing sent a thrill of joy through the heart of the nation. Mr. Lincoln issued the following :

“EXECUTIVE MANSION, *September 3.*

“The National thanks are tendered by the President to Major General William T. Sherman, and the gallant officers and soldiers of his command before Atlanta, for the distinguished ability, courage and perseverance displayed in the campaign in Georgia, which, under Divine favor, have resulted in the capture of the city of Atlanta.

“The marches, battles, sieges, and other military operations that have signalized this Campaign, must render it famous in the annals of war, and entitle those who have participated therein to the applause and thanks of the Nation.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.”

“CITY POINT, Va., *September 4—9 P. M.*

“Major General SHERMAN :

I have just received your dispatch announcing the capture of Atlanta. In honor of your great victory I have just ordered a salute to be fired with shotted guns from every battery bearing upon the enemy. The salute will be fired within an hour, amidst great rejoicing.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General.”

“HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF MISSISSIPPI, }  
IN THE FIELD, ATLANTA, GA., *Sept. 8, 1864.* }

“The officers and soldiers of the Armies of the Cumberland, Ohio, and the Tennessee, have already received the thanks of the Nation, through the President and Commander-in-Chief, and it now remains only for him who has been with you from the beginning, and who intends to stay all the time, to thank the officers and men for their intelligence, fidelity, and courage displayed in the campaign of Atlanta.

“On the 1st of May our armies were lying in garrison, seemingly quiet from Knoxville to Huntsville, and our enemy lay behind his rocky-faced barrier at Dalton, proud, defiant, and exulting. He had had time since Christmas to recover from his discomfiture on the Mission Ridge, with his ranks filled, and a new commander-in-chief, second to none of the

Confederacy in reputation for skill, sagacity, and extreme popularity. All at once our armies assumed life and action, and appeared before Dalton; threatening Rocky Face we threw ourselves upon Resaca, and the rebel army only escaped by the rapidity of its retreat, aided by the numerous roads with which he was familiar, and which were strange to us. Again he took position in Allatoona, but we gave him no rest, and by a circuit toward Dallas and subsequent movement to Ackworth, we gained the Allatoona Pass. Then followed the eventful battles about Kenesaw, and the escape of the enemy across Chattahoochie River.

“The crossing of the Chattahoochie and breaking of the Augusta road was most handsomely executed by us, and will be studied as an example in the art of war. At this stage of our game our enemies became dissatisfied with their old and skilful commander, and selected one more bold and rash. New tactics were adopted. Hood first boldly and rapidly, on the 20th of July, fell on our right at Peach Tree Creek, and lost. Again, on the 22d, he struck our extreme left, and was severely punished; and finally, again on the 28th he repeated the attempt on our right, and that time must have been satisfied; for since that date he has remained on the defensive. We slowly and gradually drew our lines about Atlanta, feeling for the railroads which supplied the rebel army, and made Atlanta a place of importance. We must concede to our enemy that he met these efforts patiently and skilfully, but at last he made the mistake we had waited for so long, and sent his cavalry to our rear, far beyond the reach of recall. Instantly our cavalry was on his only remaining road, and we followed quickly with our principal army, and Atlanta fell into our possession as the fruit of well-concerted measures, backed by a brave and confident army. This completed the grand task which had been assigned us by our Government, and your general again repeats his personal and official thanks to all the officers and men composing this army, for the indomitable courage and perseverance which alone could give success.

“We have beaten our enemy on every ground he has chosen, and have wrested from him his own Gate City, where were located his foundries, arsenals, and workshops, deemed secure on account of their distance from our base, and the seemingly impregnable obstacles intervening. Nothing is impossible to an army like this, determined to vindicate a Government which has rights, wherever our flag has once floated, and is resolved to maintain them at any and all costs.

“In our campaign many, yea, very many of our noble and gallant comrades have preceded us to our common destination—the grave; but they have left the memory of deeds on which a nation can build a proud history. McPherson, Harker, McCook, and others dear to us all, are now the binding links in our minds that should attach more closely together



the living, who have to complete the task which still lies before us in the dim future. I ask all to continue as they have so well begun, the cultivation of the soldierly virtues that have ennobled our own and other countries. Courage, patience, obedience to the laws and constituted authorities of our Government; fidelity to our trusts and good feeling among each other; each trying to excel the other in the practice of those high qualities, and it will then require no prophet to foretell that our country will in time emerge from this war purified by the fires of war, and worthy its great founder—Washington.

W. T. SHERMAN,

“Major General Commanding.”

The congratulations of the heroic, devoutly Christian General Howard, who is equally at home in the Sabbath-school and in the smoke of battle, will add to the interest of the records of this eventful time:

“It is with pride, gratification and a sense of Divine favor, that I congratulate this noble army upon the successful termination of the campaign.

“Your officers claim for you a wonderful record—for example, a march of four hundred miles, thirteen distinct engagements, four thousand prisoners, and twenty stands of colors captured, and three thousand of the enemy’s dead buried in your front.

“Your movements upon the enemy’s flank have been bold and successful; first upon Resaca, second upon Dallas, third upon Kenesaw, fourth upon Nickajack, fifth, via Roswell, upon the Augusta Railroad, sixth upon ‘Ezra Church,’ to the southwest of Atlanta, and seventh upon Jonesboro’ and the Macon Railroad. Atlanta was evacuated while you were fighting at Jonesboro’.

“The country may never know with what patience, labor, and exposure you have tugged away at every natural and artificial obstacle that an enterprising and confident enemy could interpose. The terrific battles you have fought may never be realized or credited; still a glad acclaim is already greeting you from the Government and people, in view of the results you have helped to gain; and I believe a sense of the magnitude of the achievements of the last hundred days will not abate, but increase with time and history.

“Our rejoicing is tempered, as it always must be, by the soldier’s sorrow at the loss of his companions in arms. On every hillside, in every valley throughout your long and circuitous route, from Dalton to Jonesboro’, you have buried them.

“Your trusted and beloved commander fell in your midst; his name—the name of McPherson, carries with it a peculiar feeling of sorrow. I trust the impress of his character is upon you all, to incite you to generous actions and noble deeds.

“To mourning friends, and to all the disabled in battle, you extend a soldier’s sympathy.

“ My first intimate acquaintance with you dates from the 28th of July. I never beheld fiercer assaults than the enemy then made, and I never saw troops more steady and self-possessed in action than your divisions which were then engaged.

“ I have learned that for cheerfulness, obedience, rapidity of movement and confidence in battle, the army of the Tennessee is not to be surpassed, and it shall be my study that your fair record shall continue, and my purpose to assist you to move steadily forward, and plant the old flag in every proud city of the rebellion.

“ (Signed) O. O. HOWARD, Major General.

“ *Official*: SAMUEL L. TAGGART, A.-A.-G.”

Necessity, as Sherman paced the piazza of that house in Atlanta, utterly abstracted in thought, brought out the genius of the man. To him belongs the credit, not only of the execution, but the conception of his great and triumphal journey to the coast. He gave a synopsis of his plans to Lieutenant-General Grant and the War department, and they sanctioned the enterprise. Being largely reinforced by the draft he sent the 4th and 23d corps to General Thomas, in whose hands he had entrusted the Chattanooga and Nashville line, as a nucleus of a new army; his object was to leave a sufficient force under an able commander to take charge of Hood, who had for months been hovering around Atlanta with a view of cutting off Sherman's supplies, and was now preparing to advance on Nashville. Of this last movement General Sherman was accurately informed. From Dalton, Hood with his army moved to Gainesville, thence to Gadsden, from which point his advance on Nashville commenced. At length the great time for action came. Sherman divided his army into two wings. The right wing, 15th and 17th corps, under the command of Major General O. O. Howard: the left wing, 14th and 20th corps, under Major General H. W. Slocum, while Brigadier General Kilpatrick, commander of the cavalry, was to receive special orders from the Commander and chief.

On the 9th of November, 1864, General Sherman, at his head-quarters in Kingston, Georgia, issued his orders for the march through that State to the sea. At Centerville he severed his connection with the North; his last communication over the wires, to General Thomas, November 13, was, *All is well*. The rebels supposing Atlanta evacuated on the 11th, rushed up to take possession, and over nine hundred of them were captured. On the ever-memorable night of the 15th of November, 1864, the remaining part of the city of Atlanta was fired—and during the conflagration the whole heavens were illuminated, the sight being grand beyond description. A brigade of Massachusetts's soldiers were the last to leave the town, the band of the 33rd regiment



playing, *John Brown's soul goes marching on*. On the morning of the 16th, General Sherman with his brave army, with only sixteen days rations, started for Savannah. Hood supposing the way was now clear, started for Nashville. Just fourteen days after Sherman left Atlanta a battle took place at Franklin, Tennessee, between Thomas and Hood. The latter lost 6,000 killed and wounded, and 1,000 prisoners, and thirty stand of colors. Manœuvering and skirmishing was kept up until the 15th of December, when General Thomas secured a better position, his left resting on Murfreesboro, and his main body a few miles from Nashville.

While in this position the fight commenced and lasted about nine hours, resulting in a great Union victory. Hood's army abandoned artillery, wounded men, and the road was strewn for miles with trophies of war thrown away by the panic-stricken rebels in their flight. This great defeat completely destroyed Hood's army; his loss being over 12,000 men, and fifty pieces of artillery, and its commander was never again able to rally his forces to any advantage. The Union loss in the engagement was about 3,000 men.

Sherman's army was stretched out over a swath of country about sixty miles wide, destroying the Atlanta and Augusta railroad; also the road to Macon. Railways, cotton mills, machine shops and founderies were everywhere destroyed; every means of making or repairing railroads south of Virginia and the Carolinas were destroyed. Lee could not depend on the South for supplies; they had not even the means left to build up what Sherman was tearing down and destroying. The Georgia militia who had been sent to aid General Hood was recalled by Governor Brown, and a show of resistance now began to appear. Some of these troops had been recalled from Alabama, after a march of near five hundred miles.

But the army moved on without hindrance, through Covington, Decatur, Madison, Jackson, and Eatonton. Approaching Milledgeville, in a swamp was found Howell Cobb's celebrated pacing mare, which cost him \$25,000. This animal was found by private Walter Burns, Company E, Twenty-first Ohio, who a few days afterwards was captured and murdered while riding her. He was acting as orderly, and when his companions dug up his grave they found his throat cut after he had been shot through the head. At twelve o'clock, noon, November 22, the army entered Milledgeville. The national colors were hoisted over the state house by the 104th New York Regiment. Governor Brown and the rebel Legislature were in session the day before, but fled to Augusta, guarded by about one thousand rebel cavalry. The Union boys had quite a frolic, holding a mock rebel legislature in the state house. After it was organized the question of reconstructing the state was discussed by the yankee

members from the different counties with all the gravity conceivable. A few miles from this, at Griswoldsville, a fight took place; the enemy about 5,000 strong, composed chiefly of militia, was sent out to prevent a raid on Macon; the result was a loss to the rebels of 2,500 in killed, wounded and prisoners; Union loss, about 40 killed and wounded.

Over ten thousand contrabands were now following the Union army, and its own safety and convenience required that the great exodus should be checked. At Ogeechee River for this purpose a guard was placed at the pontoon bridge which kept the blacks from passing until the troops got over, when the bridge was removed and the caravan left on the other side. The negroes would not be checked, but built a foot bridge next day when they all passed over and followed the army. At Ebenezer Creek the same means were resorted to, to prevent the blacks encumbering the army, which did not know what moment it might be attacked. Wheeler came up in the rear with his rebel cavalry, and finding this great army of contrabands trying to cross the stream, charged on the defenceless beings, drove them into the stream amidst shrieks of despair. Mothers clasped their infants and sank down in their watery grave. Thousands of these poor creatures perished in the stream into which they had been driven by the hellish monster, while he and his cut-throat cavalry companions sat on their horses on the river bank, shouting and laughing at the painful sight. This was about forty miles from the coast. Kilpatrick and Davis had until now, been a shield to the real movements of the army; it was impossible for the rebel commander Beauregard to determine whether it was at Millen, Augusta, Charleston or Savannah, that Sherman was about to strike.

On the 11th and 12th of December, General Sherman began to draw the lines around Savannah. On the 12th, Slocum's left rested three miles from the city to beyond the Gulf railway, when Howard's right rested eleven miles from the city. His corps had just completed the destruction of the last link of railway centering in the city. In the meantime Kilpatrick moved down to St. Catharine Sound to open communication with the fleet. He wanted to storm Fort McAllister with the cavalry; but the General-in-Chief thought it might be hazardous, and would not consent. It was afterwards carried by Hazen. General Sherman viewed the conflict from the roof of Dr. Cheroe's rice mill on the Ogeechee, opposite the Fort. Standing on this elevated position he looked through his glass out on the horizon, seaward. Discovering smoke, he remarked to General Howard, "There is a gunboat." Half an hour passed, and the guns of the Fort now opened, which indicated that Hazen had sent his skirmishers forward. Hazen now signalled that he had invested the fort and would assault immediately.



The gunboats now approaching, threw up signals informing Sherman that Foster and Dahlgren were close by.

The distance of Sherman from the fort was about three miles. Steadily through his glass did he watch every movement. "There they go gradually; not a waver." Half a moment more he exclaims: "How steadily it moves; not a man falters. There they go, still. See the roll of musketry. Grand! Grand!"

Still using his glass, he remarks, "That flag still goes forward. There is no flinching there."

Steadily gazing, "look," he says, "It has halted! They waver—no, it's the parapet. There they go again—Now they scale it—Some are over. Look! there's the flag on the works. Another!—another! Its ours!—the Fort is ours!"

He dropped his glass by his side. His joy was complete. The victory won!—remarking, "Dis chilc don't sleep dis night."

At sunset, December 13th, the dark waters of the Ogeechee, bearing witness, will ever be remembered as the time General Sherman changed his base from Atlanta to the sea. By his triumph he fulfilled the covenant made with his heroes at Atlanta twenty days before. He had carried through the enterprise! His achievement was complete. Only 23 were killed, and 82 wounded in capturing the fort. The rebels had 14 killed and 21 wounded. Well might Sherman, Howard, and Hazen be proud of the old Second Division. Under Logan, in the past, it had won unfading laurels, and under Hazen it capped the climax of its glory. From Atlanta the army passed over 42 of the finest grain growing counties in Georgia; captured over 200 towns and villages; brought out about 15,000 slaves: nearly the same number of horses and mules; destroyed 240 miles of railroad; burned all the bridges and cotton-gins; all public buildings of service to the enemy; burned or bonded over \$40,000,000 worth of cotton; any amount of rebel scrip and money; some gold and silver; 30 pieces of cannon, stores, and railroad trains, sufficient cattle to supply the army with fresh meat, and 4000 prisoners. Distance about 300 miles. Sherman says he lost about 500 prisoners, from straggling, and about 350 killed and wounded, including those who fell assaulting and capturing Fort McAllister. While the gunboats were engaged in removing torpedoes, and Sherman in getting his siege guns in position, to more completely investing the city, General Hardce on the 20th of December escaped with his rebel army through the Union Causeway. On the 21st, General Sherman makes a triumphant entry into Savannah. Fort McAllister, Fort Lee, Fort Jackson, Fort Barlow, and over 200 heavy guns, and 38,000 bales of cotton were captured with the city. Here, as in all other places, the faith, earnestness and heroism of the black man is one of the greatest developments of the war! A number of colored clergymen

had here an interview with Secretary Stanton, who, after an entire night's conversation, remarked, they understood the question as well as any of the Cabinet.

When I think of the universal testimony of the escaped soldiers who daily entered the Union lines, stating that in hundreds of miles which they traversed on their way, they never asked the poor slave in vain for help; that the poorest negroes hid, sheltered, and shared their last crumb with them.

How ungrateful would it be for the country to turn its back on such devoted friends!

#### SHERMAN'S MARCH INTO, AND THROUGH SOUTH CAROLINA.

After his capture of Savannah, the last few days of December, and the first part of January, 1865, was spent by Sherman in recruiting his army from its long march through Georgia. The army was not only rested, but reënforced, having a greater number of effective men than when it started from Atlanta in November last. The organization was the same: Major General O. O. Howard led the right wing, and Major General H. W. Slocum led the left wing, Major General Kilpatrick under, and reporting only to General Sherman himself.

On January 16th, he moved the 17th and two divisions of the 15th Corps by water to Beaufort, and on the 20th the left wing, marching on either side of the Savannah river towards Augusta.

On the 23d Sherman transferred his headquarters from Savannah to Beaufort. The left wing was delayed by rains in camp, seven miles from Savannah, until the 25th; it reached Springfield the day after, and Sister's Ferry on the 27th. The right wing moved from Pocotaligo towards the Cambahee river on the 29th. The left wing was unable to leave Sister's Ferry on account of the high water.

On the 30th the right wing moved along the Savannah and Charleston railroad, encountering rebel cavalry, until the 31st, when it arrived at McPhersonville, leaving the left still at Sister's Ferry. This was the situation of the army on the last day of January.

On the 1st day of February, the right moved from McPhersonville to Hickory Hill. The left was still at Sister's Ferry. General Sherman became impatient at the slow advance of the left wing, which was now over 20 miles behind.

On the 3d, the right wing moved from Brighton's Bridge across the Salkahatchie; the enemy's cavalry made some resistance to the crossing, by burning the bridge, and skirmishing with the advance, but was driven away, and on the 4th, the entire right crossed the stream. On the same day the left, which had been water-bound at Sister's Ferry since the 27th of January, was enabled to cross the Savannah river.



On the 5th, the right crossed Whippy Swamp, while the left came up to Brighton. The next day the right wing encountered and fought the rebel cavalry under Wheeler at Orange Court House, on the Little Salkahatchie, while on the 7th, it reached Bamberg and Medway, on the Charleston and Augusta railroad. The same day the left wing moved to Lawtonville, which place was burned by the 20th corps.

On the 8th, the right crossed the South Edisto, and reached Grahamsville on the 9th. On the same day the left wing reached Allendale.

On the 10th the right wing crossed the North Edisto river, and the left reached Fiddle Pond near Barnwell. The right wing captured Orangeburg on the 11th, and the left marched through Barnwell on the same day, leaving the town in ashes, and encamped three miles from White Pond Station.

On the 12th, the right wing left Orangeburg and made for the Congaree and Columbia, while the left tore up ten miles of the Charleston and Augusta railroad. Orangeburg was set on fire by a Jew who had lost 50 bales of cotton by a body of rebels—he did it out of revenge. The soldiers tried to extinguish the flames, but could not on account of the high wind prevailing at the time.

On the 13th, the left crossed the South Edisto, and the day following passed the North Edisto river.

On the 15th, the right wing effected the passage of the Congaree, and began shelling Columbia, the Capital of South Carolina. General Carlin, who was in advance of the left wing, had a skirmish with the rebels near Lexington, capturing and burning the town. While the right wing confronted Columbia, the left marched to Hart's Ferry on the Seluda river, three miles above the city. Beauregard, the rebel general, to whose skill and bravery the defence of the city had been entrusted, had placed troops in the woods beyond the river to prevent the Union army from crossing, but they were driven out by the left wing.

On the 17th, Generals Sherman and Howard at the head of the right wing were the first to cross the bridge and enter Columbia. This was to have been the next rebel Capital after Lee evacuated Richmond. While marching up the main street the band of the 33d Massachusetts played, and the Army sang "John Brown," and "Battle-Cry of Freedom."

#### BATTLE-CRY OF FREEDOM.

Yes, we'll rally round the Flag, boys, we'll rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom:  
We will rally from the hill-side, we'll gather from the plain,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom!

CHORUS.—The Union for ever! hurrah! boys, hurrah!  
Down with the Traitor, up with the star!

While we rally round the Flag, boys, rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom!

We are springing to the call of our brothers gone before,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom!  
And we'll fill the vacant ranks with a million Freemen more,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom!

Chorus—The Union for ever! &c.

We will welcome to our numbers the boys all true and brave,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom!  
And although he may be poor, he shall never be a slave,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom!

Chorus—The Union for ever! &c.

So we're springing to the call from the East and from the West,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom!  
And we'll hurl the rebel crew from the land we love the best,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom!

Chorus—The Union for ever! &c.

The white male part of the inhabitants were mostly indifferent; but the blacks, men, women, and children, all shouted and danced with joy. "Thank de Lord, Mr. Sherman hab come at last. We prayed, and de Lord Jesus answered our prayers."

One fat old woman said to him, while shaking him by the hand, which he always gladly gave to these poor people, "I prayed dis long time for yer, and de blessing ob de Lord is on yer. But yesterday afternoon, when yer stopped trowing de shells into de town, and de soldiers run away from de hill ober dar, I thout dat General Burygar had driven you away, for dey said so; but here yer am dun gone. Bress de Lord, yer will hab a place in heaben; yer will go dar, sure."

Here could be seen slavery in its worst form. The Union army all bore witness that a studied effort has long been made by the heartless masters residing around this treasonable place, to reduce the negro to the level of the brute. And the vengeance of Almighty God was kept in store for this shameless crime. Old Glory (as the Union soldiers call the flag) was soon hoisted over the capitol of South Carolina midst the shouts of the army.

Columbia was a beautiful place before the war. The new capitol building is as fine as any in the States. Brown, the sculptor, at great personal expense, partially completed groups of statuary for which he has received no pay, and they remain stowed away in the surrounding buildings. By order of Wade Hampton the rebels had placed thousands of bales of cotton in the main streets of the city, and when evacuating the place set it on fire. Before any of the public buildings had been fired by Sherman's men, a high wind arose, and the smouldering embers from the burning cotton was carried into all parts of the city, and on the night of the 17th the



whole town was illuminated by its destruction. The arsenal, railroad depots, storehouses, magazines, public property, private residences of the aristocracy, together with the business part of the city, and twenty thousand bales of cotton were destroyed. The new State house was not burned, but the old one was. Not a rail upon any of the roads within twenty miles of Columbia but what was twisted into corkscrews, while on two of them the good work was continued to their terminus. Forty-five pieces of artillery were captured, fifteen locomotives, and an immense amount of cotton and government stores.

#### FLOGGING A MAN-HUNTER.

Some of the men, escorted by negroes and escaped prisoners, paid a visit to a noted ruffian, a second Legree, who kept a pack of bloodhounds for the purpose of hunting down niggers and escaped Union prisoners. The boys disposed of his dogs as they have done with all the bloodhounds they came across, burned down his house and place, then tied him to a tree and got some strapping niggers to flog him, which they did with a will, repaying in the *lex talionis* style.

These blackhearted traitors, who for forty years have been taunting the North and defying the federal government, never dreamed that vengeance would penetrate their treasonable dens. But how mortifying it must have been for this slave oligarchy to witness, the feet of one hundred thousand abolitionists, hated and despised, press heavily on their soil. Thousands of the best blood of the State were off in the rebel army, and those that remained were left without homes. The Hamptons, Barnwells, Simses, Rhettts, Singletons, Prestons, and the rest had no resting-places. The ancient homesteads, the heritages of many generations, where were gathered the family ties and sacred associations of over two hundred years, were for ever gone. When they became traitors their honor fled; now they have no local habitations, and in the glorious future of this great country they will have a traitor's name.

The right wing camped at Columbia, while the left was in camp on Broad river. On the 19th, it crossed the river, destroyed Greenville, and Columbia railroad, stopping at Alston. On the 20th, the right wing left Columbia, destroying the railroad to Winnsboro, and on the same day the left crossed the Little river. The whole army was concentrated at Winnsboro on the 21st. This led the rebel general Johnston to suppose that Sherman intended to push on Charlotte. On the 22d, the right wing crossed the Wateree river at Pay's Ferry, while the left tore up the railroad above Winnsboro, and moved to Youngsville. On 23d, the right wing rested on Lynch Creek, while the left rested at Rocky Mount, Catawba river. On the 23d it crossed the river, while on the 25th, the right wing captured Cam-

den. On the 27th, while General Carlin was endeavoring to cross the Catawba, the rebel general, Wheeler, with his cavalry disputed the passage. The right wing now on the 28th moved from Camden towards Cheraw, and for three days encamped on Lynch Creek, waiting for the left wing to thrash Wheeler, and cross over the Catawba river and come up.

#### GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND APPEARANCE OF CAROLINA.

The Sea islands of South Carolina extend along the coast from Winyaw bay to the Savannah river, and are composed of a rich vegetable loam of great fertility, producing sea island cotton, corn and rice. The orange tree and palmetto flourish among these islands. The tide flows a considerable way inland along the rivers, irrigating the immense extent of marsh land that borders them. These lands, though unhealthy, are very valuable as rice plantations.

The region between the tide swamps, and the sand hills of the middle country extends for nearly one hundred miles.

The river swamps here, too, are immense, extending in some places six miles in width, and are unfit for cultivation, but afford a safe resort for water fowls, reptiles, and alligators. Across these dismal swamps our armies had to force their passage. Beyond these the sand-hill region extends for some thirty miles towards Columbia, and includes the extremes of sterility and fertility. The high, poor lands are covered with pitch pine, black jacks or dwarf oaks, while the low lands bordering the rivers produce corn, cotton, and rice in abundance.

The country extending from the sand-hill region to the mountains—some ninety miles—possesses a pretty uniform character. The surface is clay, covered for the most part with a rich soil, mixed with sand or granite. The rolling nature of this tract of country gives it rather a picturesque appearance. This tract extends along the Broad river, in York and Spartansburg districts. The mountainous country is confined to Pendleton and Greenville districts, and though the soil is rather sterile, the country is pleasant and healthy.

On March 1st, the left wing moved on to Hanging Rock, and the next day marched to Horton's Ferry, and on the 3d the entire army crossed Lynch Creek.

On the 4th, the right wing captured Cheraw. Here were found many guns and a large quantity of ammunition which had been brought from Charleston when it was evacuated. General Mower fired them in honor of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration for the second time. These were all destroyed. While the left crossed Thompson's Creek on the 5th, the right, and part of the left wing crossed the Great Pardee river; Davis's corps moving up to Sneadsboro. On the 6th, Davis crossed the Great



Pardee, and the whole army was then out of South Carolina, having entered the old North State on the 5th of March at a point about 53 miles from Fayetteville. On the 7th, the left wing moved to Downing river. On the 8th, the right wing to Laurel Hill. On the 9th, the entire army marched by several roads to within twenty miles of Fayetteville. On the 10th, the *entire* force advanced ten miles, expecting an engagement with General Hardee. Kilpatrick fell on his rear, while retreating, and engaged Hampton's cavalry. The fight lasted some hours and was hotly contested; but the rebels were driven from the field. On the 12th, Sherman's whole command entered Fayetteville. Here the machinery of the Harper's Ferry arsenal was found, and with every species of property useful to the enemy entirely destroyed and thrown into the river. The campaign from Savannah lasted about fifty-four days, some forty of which had been spent in South Carolina, cutting a swath about forty miles wide, and leaving only ashes and embers in its track. The distance marched was near four hundred and forty-three miles.

It is marvelous that Johnston, Hardee, Bragg, Hampton, Cheatham, S. D. Lee, Wheeler, and Butler, with a force of over 40,000 rebels scattered over North and South Carolina, were unable even to delay the advance of Sherman. Twenty days constant rains made bad roads flooding the rivers and streams. But that was overcome and the great chieftain went through the Carolinas as he previously had through Georgia and Tennessee. From victory to victory he continued his holiday-march.

Fourteen cities, hundreds of miles of railroads, and thousands of bales of cotton were burned. Eighty-five cannon, four thousand prisoners, and twenty-five thousand animals were captured; and about fifteen thousand slaves released from bondage. Sherman had sent from Laurel Hill two of his best scouts to give General Terry at Wilmington an account of his position and general plans. They reached him on the 12th of March.

The army tug Davidson was dispatched to Fayetteville the same morning, giving Sherman all needful information. The tug returned the same day and reported to General Terry at Wilmington, and General Schofield at Newburn, that Sherman was prepared to move on Goldsboro on Wednesday, the 15th inst. Feigning on Raleigh, Hardee with 20,000 men retreating from Fayetteville halted in a swamp between the Cape Fear and South rivers, expecting to hold Sherman in check until Johnston would have time to concentrate his scattered forces either at Raleigh, Smithfield, or Goldsboro. It was necessary to dislodge Hardee in order to get possession of the Goldsboro road. General Slocum was ordered to press, and carry the position. On the 16th, the battle of Averosboro was fought by Slocum. Ward's division of infantry followed up and through the town, developing that Hardee had retreated, not on Raleigh, but Smithfield. Ward's division kept up a show of pursuit, while Slo-

cum's column wheeled to the right, built a bridge across the South river, (then very high) and took the road to Goldsboro. He encamped on the night of the 18th, twenty-seven miles from Goldsboro. Howard was at Lee's store, two miles south; both had pickets three miles in advance, where the two roads met and led to Goldsboro.

Howard was ordered to advance by way of the Falling Creek church, from which General Sherman opened communication with General Terry coming from Wilmington, and General Schofield advancing from Newburn. The former was near Faison's Depot; the latter at Kingston. The left wing under General Slocum now came up with the rebel army; and finding that Johnston with the entire confederate forces in this section was massed for battle before him, he commenced to throw up breastworks. Kilpatrick hearing the sound of the artillery hastened up and formed on the left. The enemy under Hoke, Hardee, and Cheatham, commanded by Johnston himself, made six distinct charges but were repulsed at every effort.

Johnston had come from Smithfield during the night, expecting to overwhelm Sherman's left wing. On the 19th, General Slocum received reinforcements which made his position impregnable. The right wing coming up about three miles east of the battle field of the day before, near Bentonville, met with rebel cavalry. Johnston intended to fight and whip the left and right wings of Sherman's army in detail, but instead of doing that, was out-manceuvred by Sherman, and thrown entirely on the defence. On the 20th, he was confronted with Sherman's entire army with Mill Creek and a single bridge at his rear. This was the condition of things at Bentonville on the 21st of March; on the same day Schofield entered Goldsboro. General Terry had possession of the Neuse river at Cox's bridge, about ten miles above the city, with pontoons laid, and one brigade across the river.

The 21st was a wet day, raining continually; but General Sherman ordered General Mower's division of the 17th corps, on the enemy's extreme right, while an attack was made on right and left by skirmishers. This was done to prevent Johnston falling on Mower's division and overpowering it. On the night of the 21st, Johnston with his entire force retreated to Smithfield; at day-break he was pursued about two miles beyond Mill Creek, when General Sherman called back those in pursuit. Sherman's loss at Bentonville of the left wing was 9 officers and 145 men killed; 51 officers and 816 wounded; and 3 officers and 223 missing—taken prisoners by the enemy. Total loss, 1,247. The right wing lost 2 officers, and 35 men killed; 12 officers, and 239 men wounded; and one officer and 60 men missing. Total 399. The Union loss at Bentonville was about 1,646. 267 dead rebels were left on the field, and buried by Sherman's troops, and 1625 taken prisoners. General Sherman met



General Terry for the first time at Cox's bridge on the 22d, and on the following day went into Goldsboro, where he met General Schofield with his army who had possession of the place. The left wing entered that evening and the next morning, while the right wing came in on the 24th.

General Sherman having now united his forces with General Terry and General Schofield, and on the previous day having whipped the entire rebel army in North Carolina under Johnston, he immediately started for City Point, Virginia, to consult with General Grant, leaving General Schofield in command of all the union forces around Goldsboro. He reached Grant's head-quarters on the evening of March 27th, and met General Grant, President Lincoln, Generals Meade, Ord, and other officers of the army of the Potomac. These chieftains had a consultation, and Sherman returned on the navy steamer *Bat*, *via* Hatteras Inlet and Newburn, reaching his camp at Goldsboro on the night of the 30th of March. His great object had been accomplished—forming a junction with Schofield and Terry. He was now in communication with General Grant, and ready to coöperate in the spring campaign of 1865. Within striking distance of the rear of the great rebel Capital, the doom of Richmond was sealed.

General Sherman intended to move rapidly north by way of Burkesville, threatening Raleigh, and thus get between the two rebel armies, commanded by Lee, and Johnston. But the brilliant achievements of General Grant's army on the first, second, and third of April at Petersburg and Richmond, showed that the armies of the Potomac and James under Lieutenant General Grant were abundantly able to take care of the rebel army under Lee. The status undergoing a change, it became General Sherman's duty to capture or destroy the army of Johnston. On the 6th of April he estimated Johnston's force around Smithfield to be, infantry and artillery, 35,000; his cavalry to number from 6,000 to 10,000. Their cavalry force out-numbered Sherman's, and for that reason he held General Kilpatrick in reserve at Mount Olive with orders to recruit his horses, and to be ready to march on the 10th of April. Sherman in his report, dated City Point, Virginia, May 9th, 1865, says:

“At daybreak on the day appointed, all the heads of columns were in motion straight against the enemy. Major General H. W. Slocum taking the two direct roads for Smithfield; Major General O. O. Howard making a circuit by the right, and feigning up the Weldon road to disconcert the enemy's cavalry. Generals Terry and Kilpatrick moving on the west side of the Neuse River, and to reach the rear of the enemy between Smithfield and Raleigh. General Schofield followed General Slocum in support: all the columns met within six miles of Goldsboro, more or less cavalry with the usual rail-barricades, which were swept before us as chaff, and by 10 a. m. of the 11th, the Fourteenth corps entered Smithfield, the Twentieth corps

close at hand. Johnston had rapidly retreated across the Neuse river, and having his railroad to lighten up his trains, could retreat faster than we could pursue. The rains had also set in, making the resort to corduroy absolutely necessary to pass even ambulances. The enemy had burned the bridge at Smithfield, and as soon as possible Major General Slocum got his pontoons and crossed over a division of the Fourteenth corps.

"We then heard of the surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox Court-house, Virginia, which was announced to the armies in orders, and created universal joy. Not one officer or soldier of my army but expressed a pride and satisfaction that it fell to the lot of the armies of the Potomac and James so gloriously to overwhelm and capture the entire army that had held them in check so long, and their success gave new impulse to finish up our task.

"Without a moment's hesitation we dropped our trains, re-marched rapidly in pursuit to and through Raleigh, reaching that place at 7:30 a. m. on the 13th, in a heavy rain. The next day the cavalry pushed on through the rain to Durham's Station, the Fifteenth corps following as far as Morrisville Station, and the Seventeenth corps to John's Station. On the supposition that Johnston was tied to his railroad, as a line of retreat by Hillsboro, Greenboro, Salisbury, and Charlotte, etc, I had turned the other columns across the bend in that road towards Ashborough, (See Special Field Order No. 55.) The cavalry, Brevet Major General J. Kilpatrick commanding, was ordered to keep up a show of pursuit towards the 'Company Shops,' in Alamancer county; Major General O. O. Howard to turn the left by Hackney's Cross-roads, Pittsburgh, St. Lawrence and Ashborough; Major General H. W. Slocum to cross Cape Fear river at Avon's Ferry and move rapidly by Carthage, Caladonia, and Cox's Mills. Major General J. M. Schofield was to hold Raleigh, and the road back, with spare force to follow by an intermediate route."

On the 14th of April, Johnston sent a communication to General Sherman enquiring if he had power to arrange for the suspension of hostilities; to which Sherman sent the following reply:

HDQRS. DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI, }  
IN THE FIELD, RALEIGH, N. C., April 14, 1865. }

Gen. J. E. JOHNSTON, Commanding Confederate Army.

GENERAL: I have this moment received your communication of this date. I am fully empowered to arrange with you any time for the suspension of further hostilities as between the armies commanded by myself, and will be willing to confer with you to that end. I will limit the advance of my main column to-morrow to Morristown, and the cavalry to the University, and I will expect you will maintain the present position of your forces until each has notice of a failure to agree.

Thus a basis of action may be had. I undertake to abide by the same



terms and conditions as were made by Generals Grant and Lee at Appomattox Court-house, of the 9th instant, relative to the two armies; and furthermore, to obtain from General Grant an order to suspend the movements of any troops from the direction of Virginia. General Stoneman is under my command, and my orders will suspend any devastation or destruction contemplated by him. I will add that I really desire to save the people of North Carolina the damage they would sustain by the march of this army through the central or western parts of the State.

I am, with respect, your obedient servant,

W. T. SHERMAN, Major General.

“By the 15th, though the rains were incessant, and roads almost impracticable, Major General Slocum had the Fourteenth corps, Brevet Major General Davis commanding, near Martha’s Vineyard, with a pontoon bridge laid across Cape Fear river at Avon’s Ferry; with the Twentieth corps, Major General Mower commanding, in support; and Major General Howard had the Fifteenth and Seventeenth corps stretched out on the roads toward Pittsborough, while General Kilpatrick held Durham’s Station and Capitol Hill University. Johnston’s army was retreating rapidly on the roads from Hillsborough to Greensborough, he himself at Greensborough.”

An agreement was made to meet Johnston at noon on the 17th, provided the position of the troops remained *statu quo*. The railroad to Raleigh, twelve miles long, had to be completed by Colonel Wright, together with two bridges, and Sherman considered that advantage would be on his side by delay. The meeting took place as appointed, and the following agreement was entered into: It will be seen that Sherman refused to recognize any such authority as the *Confederate States*. Treating with Johnston and Breckinridge as insurgent generals, at the same time the conditions agreed on were understood to have been approved by Jeff. Davis himself.

#### MEMORANDUM.

Memorandum or basis of agreement made this 18th day of April, A. D., 1865, near Durham’s Station, and in the State of North Carolina, by and between General Joseph E. Johnston, commanding the Confederate Army, and Major General William T. Sherman, commanding the army of the United States in North Carolina, both present:

*First*—The contending armies now in the field to maintain their *statu quo* until notice is given by the commanding general of either army to its opponent, and reasonable time—say 48 hours—allowed.

*Second*—The Confederate armies now in existence to be disbanded and conducted to their several State capitals; there to deposit their arms and public property in the State arsenal, and each officer and man to execute and file an agreement to cease from acts of war and abide the action of both

State and Federal authorities. The number of arms and munitions of war to be reported to the Chief of Ordnance at Washington city, subject to future action of the Congress of the United States, and in the meantime to be used solely to maintain peace and order within the borders of the States respectively.

*Third*—The recognition by the Executive of the United States of the several State Governments, on their officers and Legislatures taking the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, and where conflicting State Governments have resulted from the war, the legitimacy of all shall be submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States.

*Fourth*—The re-establishment of all Federal Courts in the several States with powers as defined by the Constitution and laws of Congress.

*Fifth*—The people and inhabitants of all States to be guaranteed, so far as the Executive can, their political rights and franchises, as well as their rights of person and property, as defined by the Constitution of the United States and of States respectively.

*Sixth*.—The Executive authority of the Government of the United States not to disturb any of the people by reason of the late war, so long as they live in peace and quiet, abstain from acts of armed hostility, and obey laws in existence at any place of their residence.

*Seventh*.—In general terms, war to cease, a general amnesty, so far as the Executive power of the United States can command, or on condition of disbandment of the Confederate armies, and the distribution of arms, and resumption of peaceful pursuits by officers and men as hitherto composing the said armies. Not being fully empowered by our respective principals to fulfill these terms, we individually and officially pledge ourselves to promptly obtain necessary authority, and to carry out the above programme.

W. T. SHERMAN, Major general,  
Commanding the Army of the United States in North Carolina.

J. E. JOHNSTON, General,  
Commanding Confederate States Army in North Carolina.

About one hour after Sherman and his staff left Raleigh, to meet Johnston at Durham's Station, the news was received of the assassination of Lincoln. A courier was immediately despatched after Sherman, and he received the news of the President's death while in conference with Johnston, and before the above agreement was signed.

Of the cowardly assassination of Mr. Lincoln, he says: "The news of President Lincoln's assassination, on the 14th of April (wrongly reported to me by telegraph as having occurred on the 11th), reached me on the 17th, and was announced to my command on the same day, in Field Orders No. 56. I was duly informed with its horrible atrocity and probable effects on the country. But when the property and interests of millions still living



were involved, I saw no good reason why to change my course, but thought rather to manifest real respect for his memory by following, after his death, that policy which, if living, I felt certain he would have approved, or at least not rejected with disdain."

The bitter feeling created by the assassination of President Lincoln, with other very weighty objections, were such as to cause the new President and his advisers to refuse to ratify the Memoranda or negotiations with Johnston.

General Sherman's idea was, that Johnston had it in his power to escape with his army through Charlotte, North Carolina, and thus indefinitely prolong the war. He says: "Up to that hour I had never received one word of instruction, advice, or counsel, as to the plan or policy of the Government, looking to a restoration of peace on the part of the Rebel States of the South. Whenever asked for an opinion on the points involved, I had always avoided the subject." He first offered the same terms to Johnston that Lee received from General Grant. But when he met Johnston again, Sherman says: "He satisfied me then of his power to disband the rebel armies in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, as well as those in his immediate command, viz.: North Carolina, Georgia and Florida. The points on which he expressed especial solicitude were, lest their States were to be dismembered and denied representation in Congress, or any separate political existence whatever; and the absolute disarming his men would leave the South powerless and exposed to depredation by wicked bands of assassins and robbers. The President's (Lincoln) Message of 1864; his Amnesty Proclamation; General Grant's terms to General Lee, substantially extending the benefit of that Proclamation to all officers below the rank of colonel; the invitation to the Virginia Legislature to re-assemble in Richmond, by General Weitzel, with the supposed approval of Mr. Lincoln and General Grant, then on the spot; a firm belief that I had been fighting to reëstablish the Constitution of the United States; and last, but not least, the general and universal desire to close a war any longer without organized resistance, were the leading facts that induced me to pen the 'memorandum' of April 18, signed by myself and General Johnston."

On the receipt at the war office of the memorandum of negotiations entered into between Generals Sherman and Johnston, the articles were submitted to a Cabinet Meeting on the same evening, April 21st, and disapproved; and General Grant dispatched immediately to the field of action. He arrived at Sherman's head-quarters on the 24th; and immediately informed General Sherman that his memorandum had been rejected, and ordered that he should give Johnston forty-eight hours notice, and resume hostilities at the end of that time. Sherman says in his report: "General Grant had orders from the President to direct military

movements, and I explained to him the exact position of the troops, and he approved of it most emphatically; but he did not relieve me, or express a wish to assume command.

“All things were in readiness, when, on the evening of the 25th, I received another letter from General Johnston asking another interview to renew negotiations. General Grant not only approved, but urged me to accept, and I appointed a meeting at our former place at noon of the 26th, the very hour fixed for the renewal of hostilities. General Johnston was delayed by an accident to his train, but at two p. m. arrived.

“We then consulted, concluded and signed the final terms of capitulation. These were taken by me back to Raleigh, submitted to General Grant, and met his immediate approval and signature. General Johnston was not even aware of the presence of General Grant at Raleigh at the time. There was surrendered to us the second great army of the so-called Confederacy; and though undue importance has been given to the so-called negotiations which preceded it, and a rebuke and public disfavor cast on me wholly unwarranted by the facts, I rejoice in saying, that it was accomplished without further ruin and devastation to the country; without the loss of a single life to those gallant men who had followed me from the Mississippi to the Atlantic; and without subjecting brave men to the ungracious task of pursuing a fleeing foe that did not want to fight. As for myself, I know my motives, and challenge the instance during the last four years, when an armed and defiant foe stood before me, that I did not go in for a fight, and I would blush for shame if I had ever insulted or struck a fallen foe.

“The instant the terms of surrender were approved by General Grant, I made my orders, No. 65, assigning to each of my subordinate commanders his share of the work, and, with General Grant's approval, made Special Orders No. 66, putting in motion my old army, no longer required in Carolina, northward for Richmond. General Grant left Raleigh at 9 a. m. of the 27th; and I glory in the fact that during his three days stay with me, I did not detect in his language or manner one particle of abatement in the confidence, respect and affection that have existed between us throughout all the various events of the past war; and though we have honestly differed in other cases as well as this, still we respect each other's honest convictions. I still adhere to my then opinions, that by a few general concessions, ‘glittering generalities,’ all of which in the end *must* and will be conceded to the organized States of the South, this day there would not be an armed battalion opposed to us within the broad area of the dominions of the United States. Robbers and assassins must, in any event, result from the disbandment of large armies; but even these should be, and can be, taken care of by the local civil authorities, without being made a charge on the National Treasury.



“On the evening of the 28th, having concluded all business requiring my personal attention at Raleigh, and having conferred with every army commander, and delegated to him the authority necessary for his future action, I dispatched my head-quarters wagons by land, along with the seventeenth corps, the officer in charge of General Webster, to Alexandria, Va., and in person, accompanied only by my personal staff, hastened to Savannah to direct matters in the interior of South Carolina and Georgia.”

Johnston's army was divided into three grand corps commanded by General's Hardee, Stewart, and Stephen D. Lee. The great body at the time of its surrender was about eighty miles from Raleigh, near Greensborough, the camps extended along the railroad above and below the town, forming a line of about fifteen miles in extent, and in all numbered about twenty thousand men. The details of the capitulation were left to be carried out by Major General Schofield, who appointed Major General Hartsuff inspector-general of the twenty-third corps, who, with Majors Lord, Walcott, Letcher, and Captain Lyons proceeded to the front. They were received at the head-quarters of the rebel general with marked courtesy. One hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, with caissons complete, together with horses and harness, and thousands of small arms, were surrendered. At Raleigh speech-makings and torch light processions were indulged in by the victorious army. The Tenth Iowa Regiment, preceded by a fine band of music, visited General Howard's headquarters and gave cheers for him and the prospect of peace.

The final terms granted to Johnston, and which he was forced to accept, were liberal in the extreme, and are an additional proof of the magnanimity of the loyal people of the Union. The vanquished forces of Johnston were allowed to retain all their horses excepting alone the artillery horses, all their wagons, and five per cent. of their small arms. The commissioned officers were allowed to retain their side arms, horses and baggage. Five per cent. of the small arms were distributed among the enlisted men to protect them on their way home.

The settling of the details of the capitulation, required several days. On the 1st of May all was finished. On the 2d, General Schofield, accompanied by Colonels Wherry and Twining of his staff, took a special train for Greensborough; they arrived there at noon. General Schofield visited General Johnston and spent the afternoon with him.

Among the general officers surrendered by Johnston are the following: Lieutenant Generals W. J. Hardee, Stewart, and Stephen D. Lee; Major Generals D. H. Hill, and Wm. Bate; Brigadier Generals J. H. Sharp, Henderson, J. B. Palmer, Capers, Govan, Colquitt, Shelly, Featherston, Lowry and Logan of the cavalry.

The unpretending wayside cottage, owned and occupied by Mr. Bennet,

where Sherman and Johnston met to arrange the terms of surrender, suffered at the hands of relic gatherers. The table on which the memoranda were written has been cut to fragments, and is in the hands of soldiers. The house is being carried off piece meal. After the cottage, the fence and trees will go, and in due time there will be an excavation to mark the spot where the disappearing Bennet cottage stood.

General Howard's army left for the North on the morning of May 3d, and Slocum's left the next day for Richmond, Va. General Paine's division of colored troops were sent back to Goldsboro, North Carolina. Howard's corps went by way of Louisburgh, Warrenton, Laurenceville, and Petersburg to Richmond. Slocum kept to the left of Howard's corps, going by way of Oxford, Baydton, and Nottoway Courthouse on to Richmond. They had orders to be at Richmond so as to be ready to resume the march by the middle of May.

#### GENERAL SHERMAN'S ORDER.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI, }  
IN THE FIELD, RALEIGH, April 17, 1865. }

SPECIAL FIELD ORDER, No. 56.—The General commanding announces, with pain and sorrow, that on the evening of the 11th inst., at the Theatre in Washington City, his Excellency the President of the United States, Mr. Lincoln, was assassinated by one who uttered the State motto of Virginia. At the same time the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, while suffering from a broken arm, was also stabbed by another murderer in his own house, but still survives, and his son was wounded, supposed fatally.

It is believed by persons capable of judging that other high officers were designed to share the same fate. Thus it seems that our enemy, despairing of meeting us in manly warfare, begins to resort to the assassin's tools. Your General does not wish you to infer that this is universal; for he knows that the great mass of the Confederate Army would scorn to sanction such acts, but he believes it the legitimate consequence of rebellion against rightful authority. *We have met every phase which this war has assumed, and must now be prepared for it in its last and worst shape, that of assassins and guerrillas; but woe unto the people who seek to expend their wild passions in such a manner, for there is but one dread result.*

By order of Major General W. T. SHERMAN,

L. M. DAYTON Major, and Assistant Adjutant General.

On the 24th of May, Sherman's army passed in review before the President of the United States, in Washington, with banners proudly flying, ranks in close and magnificent array, under the eye of their beloved chief, and amid the thundering plaudits of countless thousands of enthusiastic



spectators. This was a glorious day for the nation! a proud day for the Army of the Mississippi.

#### GENERAL SHERMAN'S FAREWELL.

HEADQUARTERS, MIDDLE DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI, IN THE FIELD, }  
Washington, D. C., May 30th, 1865. }

THE General Commanding announces to the Armies of the Tennessee and Georgia, that the time has come for us to part. Our work is done, and armed enemies no longer defy us. Some of you will be retained in service until further orders. And now that we are about to separate, to mingle with the civil world, it becomes a pleasing duty to recall to mind the situation of national affairs when, but little more than a year ago, we were gathered about the twining cliffs of Lookout Mountain, and all the future was wrapped in doubt and uncertainty. Three armies had come together from distant fields, with separate histories, yet bound by one common cause—the union of our country and the perpetuation of the government of our inheritance. There is no need to recall to your memories Tunnell Hill, with its Rocky Face Mountain, and Buzzard Roost Gap, with the ugly forts of Dalton behind. We were in earnest, and paused not for danger and difficulty, but dashed through Snake Creek Gap, and fell on Resaca, then on to Etowah, to Dallas, Kenesaw; and the heats of summer found us on the banks of the Chattahoochee, far from home and dependent on a single road for supplies. Again we were not to be held back by any obstacle, and crossed over and fought four heavy battles for the possession of the citadel of Atlanta. That was the crisis of our history. A doubt still clouded our future; but we solved the problem, and, destroying Atlanta, struck boldly across the State of Georgia, secured all the main arteries of life to our enemy, and Christmas found us at Savannah. Waiting there only long enough to fill our wagons, we again began a march, which for peril, labor and results, will compare with any ever made by an organized army. The pods of the Savannah, the swamps of the Combahee and Edisto, the high hills and rocks of the Santee, the flat quagmires of the Pedee and Cape Fear Rivers, were all passed in midwinter, with its floods and rains, in the face of an accumulating enemy; and after the battles of Averysboro and Bentonsville, we once more came out of the wilderness to meet our friends at Goldsboro. Even then we paused only long enough to get new clothing, and to reload our wagons, and again pushed on to Raleigh, and beyond, until we met our enemy, suing for peace instead of war, and offering to submit to the injured laws of his and our country. As long as that enemy was defiant, nor mountains nor rivers, nor swamps nor hunger, nor cold had checked us; but when he who had fought us hard and persistently offered submission, your General

thought it wrong to pursue him further, and negotiations followed which resulted, as you all know, in his surrender. How far the operations of the army have contributed to the overthrow of the confederacy, of the peace which dawns on us, must be judged by others, and not by us. But that you have done all that men could do, has been admitted by those in authority; and we have a right to join in the universal joy that fills our land because the war is over, and our government stands vindicated before the world by the joint action of the volunteer armies of the United States.

To such as remain in the military service, your General need only remind you that the successes of the past are due to hard work and discipline, and that the same work and discipline are equally important in the future. To such as go home, he will only say, that our favored country is so grand, so extensive, so diversified in climate, soil and productions, that every man may surely find a home and occupation suited to his tastes; and none should yield to the natural impotence sure to result from our past life of excitement and adventure. You will be invited to seek new adventure abroad; but do not yield to the temptation, for it will lead only to death and disappointment.

Your General now bids you all farewell, with the full belief that, as in war you have been good soldiers, so in peace you will make good citizens; and if, unfortunately, new war should arise in our country, Sherman's army will be the first to buckle on the old armor and come forth to defend and maintain the government of our inheritance and choice.

By Order of                      Major-General W. T. SHERMAN.

L. M. DAYTON, Assistant-Adjutant-General.

The country owes a lasting debt of gratitude to General Sherman and his brave army. Different opinions will exist as to the wisdom of the policy adopted in his memorandum with General Johnston, but all agree it emanated from pure motives. Sympathy for a brave, misguided, fallen foe, with the misery and destitution everywhere to be met, caused the brave heart of the great soldier to melt with pity. This, with the high and holy desire to establish peace from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, were his motives, and who is there that will say they were bad.



## THE FALL OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

THE bold advance of Sherman's great army into the heart of South Carolina compelled the rebel General Hardee to evacuate Charleston. As soon as the rebel general learned that Sherman had destroyed two of the principal railroads, and was preparing to take up the Florence, the last one leading into the city, while thus meditating on his position, the lightning conveyed the intelligence to him of the capture of Columbia! Hardee now became panic-stricken, and the evacuation of this treasonable den commenced. Although the army of Sherman was over one hundred and twenty-five miles off, yet Charleston was flanked, and no longer tenable in a military point of view. Admiral Dahlgreen, and General Gilmore, who had been long watching their opportunity now began to discover the effects of a fire on the flank. Pleasanton was discovered to be secretly withdrawing, and retreating over the road by Christ's Church. The garrison on James Island, and the rebel troops in the city, began to retreat by the North Eastern Rail Road. Witnessing this, Colonel Bennett commanding the 21st U. S. colored troops on Morris Island, dispatched Major Hennessey of the 52d Pennsylvania Volunteers, with a few men in a small boat, to ascertain if Fort Sumter was evacuated. Hardly had this gallant officer with his brave men time to reach and enter its battlements, when to the astonishment of thousands the Star Spangled Banner was unfurled, and floated in triumph over its battered walls. The sight of the flag was sufficient to create demonstrations of joy, and it was hailed by all on ship, and shore. Lieutenant Colonel Bennett, Major Hennessey, and Lieutenant Bar of the 52d Pennsylvania started with a few colored troops for the city, leaving orders for others to follow.

The approach of a Yankee boat was a strange sight at the Charleston wharf. Thousands of blacks, and a great number of whites were standing on the shore when it came up. Colonel Bennett was the first to land, and was immediately followed by the others in the boat. To their astonishment the blacks seized their hands and kissed them with delight, crying "Glory Hallelujah! dis is de army ob de Lord! we watched for you dis four long year, we's happy now!" The officers and men were surprised to see many whites in this den of traitors who appeared to hail with delight the sight of old glory. Charles Macbeth, then mayor,

surrendered the city to Lieutenant A. G. Bennett. It had been previously fired by the retreating rebels, in several places, and some of the rebel cavalry yet lingered around the suburbs to prevent the firemen and deserters (who were secreted in houses) from extinguishing the flames. They soon fled, when the Union troops began to march up Murry street. Here as at the landing, the blacks were wild with delight, every where hailing the Union officers and men as their deliverers; and when the soldiers struck up the John Brown song, it filled the eyes of the blacks with tears, and their hearts with joy to hear the boys sing :

John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave,  
While weep the sons of bondage whom he ventured all to save,  
But though he lost his life, in struggling for the slave,  
His soul is marching on,

*Chorus*—Glory, Glory, Hallelujah !  
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah !  
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah !  
His soul is marching on.

John Brown was a hero undaunted, true and brave,  
And Kansas knew his valor when he fought her rights to save;  
And now, though the grass grows green above his grave,  
His soul is marching on.

Glory, &c.

He captured Harper's Ferry with his nineteen men so true,  
And he frightened old Virginny till she trembled through and through;  
They hung him for a traitor, themselves a traitor crew,  
But his soul is marching on.

Glory, &c.

John Brown was John the Baptist, of Christ we are to see,  
Christ who of the bondmen shall the Liberator be,  
And soon throughout the sunny South the slaves shall all be free,  
For his soul is marching on.

Glory, &c.

The conflict that he heralded, he looks from Heaven to view,  
On the army of the Union, with his flag red, white, and blue.  
And Heaven shall ring with anthems, o'er the deed they mean to do,  
For his soul is marching on.

Glory, &c.

Ye soldiers of Freedom, then strike, while strike ye may,  
The death-stroke of oppression, in a better time and way,  
For the dawn of old John Brown, has brightened into day,  
And his soul is marching on.

Glory, &c.

The rebels had laid a train to the arsenal, and it was saved from being fired by the timely arrival of the Union troops. The firemen came out when the rebel troops had all left, and with the assistance of Union soldiers subdued the flames; but not until four squares, a number of houses,



and about 2,000 bales of cotton were destroyed. The Wilmington Depot of the North Eastern railroad, had been made a storehouse for large quantities of powder and cartridges. This was fired about eight o'clock on Saturday morning : the explosion was terrific, shaking the city to its foundations. About 150 men women and children were killed, and over 200 wounded by the explosion. The moans of the dying sufferers were heart-rending ; beyond the aid of their surviving friends who gathered around, only to hear their voices growing weaker and weaker, until hushed in silence, the spirits leaving their mortal prisons, were gathered to their Maker.

#### THE RHETTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

It is important that posterity should know something of the history of this family ; as one of them, Barnwell Rhett, owned and published the Charleston Mercury, and had the unenviable distinction of hoisting in Broad street, over the office of that infamous sheet, the first rebel bastard flag ever seen in the United States.

The sire of this treacherous family's original name was Smith, He was a native of the north of Ireland, and in religion, a catholic. Arriving in America, he immediately changed his name to Rhett, and in order more effectually to disguise himself, denied his religion and became a protestant. From him sprang all the people of the name of Rhett, now living in South Carolina. Some say he changed his name to elude pursuit ; others that it was done to inherit property by fraud ; one thing is sure,—it *was* done, and it is right that it should be known everywhere.

#### FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY GUNS TAKEN—DESPATCH FROM GEN. GILLMORE.

“ *Headquarters Dep't of the South,*  
*Charleston, S. C., February 26, 1865.* } ”

“ Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant, and Maj.-Gen. H. W. Halleck, Chief of Staff, Washington :

“ An inspection of the rebel defences of Charleston shows, that we have taken over four hundred and fifty (450) pieces of ordinance, being more than double what I first reported. The lot includes 8 and 10 inch Columbiads, a great many 32 and 42-pounder rifles, some 7 inch Brooke rifles, and many pieces of foreign make.

“ We also captured eight locomotives, and a great number of passenger and platform cars, all in good condition.

“ Deserters report that the last of Hardee's army was to have crossed the Santee River yesterday, bound for Charlotte, N. C., and it was feared that Sherman had already intercepted their march.

“ It is reported, on similiar authority, that the last of Hood's army, twelve

thousand strong, passed through Augusta last Sunday, the 19th, on the way to Beauregard.

“Georgetown has been evacuated by the enemy, and is now in our possession.

“Deserters are coming in constantly. We have over four hundred already.

“Q. A. GILLMORE, Major-General Commanding.”

#### SKETCH OF THE CITY.

The city of Charleston, the oldest in rebellion (having entered upon its inglorious career of treason on the 20th of December, 1860, with the secession of the State, and inaugurated the war by firing on Fort Sumter April 12, 1861), is also one of the oldest in the United States, having been founded in 1672. Its population was recruited some years afterwards by Huguenot refugees who emigrated from France, and settled in pretty considerable numbers in South Carolina. It was not till 1783 that it was incorporated as a city. Fifty-two years previously, in 1731, it contained six hundred houses and five churches, and a thriving business was done in its port. During the Revolutionary war the possession of the harbor of Charleston was the object of more than one British expedition. A garrison of four hundred on Sullivan's Island, under the command of Colonel Moultrie, achieved great distinction by the repulse, on June 28, 1776, of a British squadron of nine ships-of-war. On the 12th of May, 1780, the city was surrendered to Sir Henry Clinton by General Lincoln, the corporation and principal citizens refusing to co-operate in its defence, and offering to acknowledge the sovereignty of Great Britain. The British held it till May, 1782.

It is also the largest city in the State. It is built on a peninsula, or tongue of land, between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, which unite below the town, and form a spacious harbor, communicating with the ocean at Sullivan's Island, seven miles distant. Both harbor and city somewhat resemble New York and its bay, in miniature. There is, however, this striking difference: that the portion of Charleston called the Battery, and corresponding to our Battery and to State Street, is the most fashionable part of the city. The city is regularly built, and extends nearly two miles in length, and a mile and a half in breadth. Some of the streets are from sixty to seventy feet broad, and some are narrow—for instance, King street, the Broadway of Charleston. The streets run mostly parallel to each other, running across from river to river, and intersected longitudinally nearly at right angles. They are shaded with beautiful trees. Several of the houses are embowered in a profusion of foliage and flowers. Many of the dwellings have piazzas and are ornamented with vines and creepers, while the gardens attached to them bloom with the orange, the peach, and other trees and shrubs in great variety.



The city has, of course, suffered much in appearance from the ravages of war. The shells which have been almost daily thrown into the city from our forts on Morris Island, have much injured the lower part of the city. A correspondent of the *South Carolina Advocate* thus describes the desolation of the city: "Passing through the lower wards of the city you would be particularly struck with the sad desolation. The elegant mansions and familiar thoroughfares, once rejoicing in wealth and refinement, and the theatre of busy life—the well-known and fondly cherished churches—some of them ancient landmarks—where large assemblages were wont to bow at holy altars, and spacious halls that once blazed with light and rung with festal songs,—are all deserted, sombre and cheerless; and this is enhanced by the forbidding aspect of that vast district of the city which was laid in ashes three years ago, and which remains in unmolested ruins as the monument of Charleston's long and dreary pause in the grand march of improvement. Here you perceive her humiliation."

It appears that her humiliation was in reserve for the day when her valiant fire-eating sons should abandon her without a fight.—*New York Herald*.

#### CAPTURE OF THE CITY OF WILMINGTON, N. C.

The fall of Columbia the Capital of South Carolina, and Charleston the chief commercial city of that state was followed by that of Wilmington, which had become the chief port of entry and rendezvous for English blockade runners, and British rebel-privateers. General Schofield who had been so successful in several engagements in Tennessee, had command of the army; and Rear Admiral Porter of the navy. On the day Sherman captured Columbia, and Hardee evacuated Charleston, Schofield commenced marching from Smithfield on Wilmington. General Butler and Admiral Porter had on the 24th and 25th of December made an effort to capture Fort Fisher, commanding the entrance to the harbor; but from some strange misunderstanding about time, failed. Two months had been spent in preparing for this important movement, but General Schofield and Admiral Porter now had determined on its capture.

Schofield with the land forces, occupied both sides of the Cape Fear River in his approach to the city. The left flank was under the direction of General Terry, that of the right under General Cox, while the navy under Porter was carefully feeling its way up the channel, bombarding and shelling fortifications, and removing torpedoes, while thus advancing. On the night of the 20th of February, the rebels drew out into the stream over two hundred torpedoes, and floated them down the river to meet the fleet. In the encounter several of the vessels were injured, but this did not check the advance. Fort Anderson had, on the 19th, been captured by the land forces, and the rebel troops were pressed up to Eagle Island;

when on the 21st the Union forces, under General Cox, came in sight of the city. The same night the Union troops took possession of the railway leading to Charleston, and General Casement pushed his pickets down the river bank directly opposite the city. Cox's troops approached through a swamp, and finally crossed the Brunswick River in flat-boats, found at, or near the crossing. General Terry on the left flank was steadily advancing. The rebels, though entrenched, fled before Ames's and Payne's divisions. Fort St. Phillip was evacuated on the night of the 21st, and the rebel General Bragg, who was entrusted with the defence of the city, evacuated it the same night. On the morning of the 22d, Washington's birthday, while flags were everywhere to be seen floating on the buildings in token of surrender, at precisely nine o'clock General Terry, with his command, entered the city, and received its surrender from John Dawson. Major Clement's, and Cox's divisions soon followed. The negroes were everywhere jubilant. Their friendship here as well as at all other points, showed them constant and true, will with delight when first meeting, and weeping when parting with the Union army. About 700 prisoners and 30 cannon, with cotton and stores, were captured with the city.

Camp Lamb—rebels have mild names for prisons! This was located about one mile from the city, and there yet remained about 400 Union prisoners starving and neglected, blackened with pine smoke, without blankets or shoes, almost nude, delirious, hair matted, and eyes glossy, gnashing their teeth, and clenching their hands,—many had forgotten their own names. They had not had a mouthful to eat for three days, when the Union soldiers gave them bread. They raised their brows to Heaven as in devotion; then again, looking at the gift as though puzzled to determine from where it came, or what to do with it. A black woman (God bless her) was the only person administering to their grief. She was there as an angel gently smoothing their passage to the grave.

Oh, these rebel prison pens! these inquisitions of the South! tongue can not utter, nor pen describe, the crimes of their keepers, or the sufferings of their inmates.

Ex-rebel Senator Foote, who was a member of the committee appointed by the rebel senate to examine into the treatment of Union prisoners and reports of starvation, asserts that the investigations showed, that it was decided in Cabinet meetings to reduce the rations served out to the prisoners, so as to weaken and destroy their constitutions, that when exchanged they would forever be useless again to serve as soldiers. Foote desired to report these facts to the rebel senate, but the balance of the committee overruled him and had them suppressed.

D. J. A. Davis of Chicago, a prominent physician, states that a rebel surgeon, who had for four years occupied the position of Assistant Med-



ical Director of the army of Northern Virginia, told him that Union prisoners in the Rebel hospitals had been vaccinated with venereal matter, and that this accounted for the frightful sores of the bodies of so many of them.

North Carolina furnished one hundred and ten thousand men for the rebel army. Not more than ten thousand of this vast number held slaves or had any interest in the dying institution. The rebel leaders always distrusted their fidelity to the cause of treason. They had an idea that the non-slaveholding whites of the old North State were instinctively loyal to the Federal union for being thus suspected. Regiments from the state were always placed by rebel commanders in front of battle, and its soldiers were the first to fall. The Ruffin's, the Steel's, Caldwell, Burton, Craig, and Clingman; the Johnson's, the Edward's, Asa Briggs, and Bragg; the Rodger's, the Saunder's, John W. Ellis, T. B. Vance, and Wm. A. Graham; the Spurrill's, Dr. Holt, Avery, John M. Moorhead, &c. These and other hardened slave-holders carried the state out of the Union by fraud, and should be allowed no part in the future history and glory of this country. Clothed in garments stained with blood, and drenched in the tears of North Carolina's widows and orphans, their names should no longer be mentioned side by side with even Benedict Arnold's.

# LIEUTENANT GENERAL GRANT.

## HIS EARLY HISTORY.

### SERVICES IN MEXICO

AND

### HIS MIGHTY ACHIEVEMENTS IN OVERTHROWING THE GREAT SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION AGAINST THE AMERICAN UNION.

In the early part of the sixteenth century two brothers emigrated from Scotland to America—one settled in Connecticut, and the other in New Jersey. From the one who had chosen Connecticut as his home, sprang the family of which Gen. Ulysses Simpson Grant is a descendant. It appears that some of the descendants of this Connecticut brother wandered off into Pennsylvania. Jesse R. Grant, the father of the illustrious chief, was born in Westmorland county, of that State. In 1794, Jesse R. Grant moved from Pennsylvania into Ohio, and was engaged in carrying on a tannery. John Simpson, heretofore residing in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, in 1818, with his family, moved to Clearmont county, Ohio. Miss Hannah, daughter of Mr. John Simpson, having for some months received the attention of the tanner, in June 1821, consented to become Mrs. Jesse R. Grant.

While thus newly married, they settled at Point Pleasant, about twenty-five miles above Cincinnati, Ohio. Here, on the seventh day of April, 1822, U. S. Grant was born.

From here, Mr. Grant, with his family, moved to Georgetown, the capital of Brown county, Ohio, and it was in this place that young Ulysses began to receive the rudiments of his early education. His intellect, like most great minds, was slow to develop; he was remarkable for his perseverance, but otherwise he was not considered bright.

On one occasion his teacher had given him a task to perform, in mastering which he experienced more than usual difficulty. A schoolmate, noticing his trouble, remarked: "You can't master that task." The persevering lad replied that he did not know the meaning of the word "can't," and would refer to the dictionary, and ascertain its signification. Not find



ing it in the book he referred the matter to the teacher, who explained the origin of the word, and was so much pleased with the pupil's action in the case, that he related the anecdote to the entire school, and impressed upon them the importance of accomplishing whatever they might undertake, and always to remember that there is no such word as *can't*.

The boy, even at that early age, had a great reverence for Washington. While at school at Georgetown, a cousin of his, whose parents had settled in Canada, and entertained strong distaste for everything American—even Washington was the butt of ridicule. John, for that was his cousin's name, was in Ohio going to the same school, having imbibed these Anti-American notions from his parents, began to speak disrespectfully of Washington. Ulysses finally got tired of listening to that kind of slang, and gave John a severe thrashing. His mother, being a Christian woman, was about to chastise her son for whipping his cousin, but his father took a very different view of the matter, remarking, "A boy that will fight for the honor and integrity of the name of Washington, will, in the future, make a brave and useful man," and prevented the chastisement.

This little incident created a patriotic pride and hope in the father's heart. Although unseen and unappreciated by the outside world, yet to him the bow of promise and distinction seemed encircling his youthful head.

From this time forward the hopeful parent was determined to procure a West Point military education for his son. For this purpose he applied to Senator Morris; but this senator had parted with his right to recommend a cadet. Representative Thomas L. Hamer was then applied to, and through his influence U. S. Grant, then in his seventeenth year, entered the West Point school July 1st, 1839. While in the fourth class he became the subject of jest and sport to those who had passed the same ordeal. These youths, who had been poking their fun at him, were in a higher class. While on parade one day, the thing ran so high that young Grant had a set-to with the captain, whipping him. He then turned to the Lieutenant, and enquired if he wanted to continue the sport.

"Yes," says the lieutenant, "I am ready."

It took young Grant, who then had his hand in at that kind of work, but a short time to drub the lieutenant. After he had finished the good work, Grant stepped out in front of the company and said: "I ask peace, and, if necessary, will fight the company, one by one, to gain it."

From being the subject of sport, he from this time on became the object of admiration; being always known afterwards as "Company Grant." In 1840 he advanced into the third class, ranking as corporal in the cadet battalion. In 1841 he entered the second class, ranking as sergeant, and in 1842 he entered the first, becoming a commissioned officer of the academy. On the 13th of June, 1843, he graduated number twenty-one in a class of thirty-nine. In July, 1843, he entered the United States Army as a brevet second

lieutenant of infantry. He now became a member of the fourth regiment of regular infantry, stationed at Jefferson barracks, Missouri.

He was ordered, in the summer of 1844, to repair to Nachitoches, Louisiana, to form part of the command then organizing under Gen. Taylor, in anticipation of trouble with Mexico. In 1845 he was ordered to Corpus Christi, Mexico, and on September 30th, was made second lieutenant of the seventh infantry. His old comrades joined him in a request to the War Department, that he should be permitted to remain with his old friends of the fourth. The request was granted by the war department, and he received a second lieutenant's commission in the fourth regiment regular infantry.

In the Mexican war, in the battles of Palo Alto, and Resaca de la Palma, he behaved with great bravery. At Monterey and Vera Cruz he also distinguished himself for gallant conduct. At the battle of Molino del Rey he was promoted to first lieutenant. At Chapultepec, Major Francis Lee, commanding the fourth infantry, remarks, "Lieutenant Grant behaved with distinguished gallantry on the 13th and 14th." Col. John Garland, commanding the first brigade, in his report of the battle of Chapultepec, speaks in the highest terms: "Lieutenant Grant of the fourth infantry acquitted himself most nobly upon several occasions under my own observation."

General Worth also in his report of September 16th, 1847, bears the same testimony. Lieutenant Grant was again promoted for gallantry; his commission, brevet of captain, dated September 13th, 1847, the same day the battle of Chapultepec was fought. Soon after his return from Mexico he married Miss Julia Dent, a daughter of Frederick Dent, and a lady of refinement. Mr. Dent resided at Gravois, near St. Louis, Missouri. In 1852 the fourth was ordered to the Pacific; their headquarters to be at Fort Dallas, Oregon Territory. In August 1853, he was promoted to the rank of captain, being then in the interior of California, about 400 miles from the coast.

July 31st, 1854, he resigned his commission in the service, and took up his residence with his father-in-law near St. Louis; a portion of his time was here employed as a collector and real estate agent, and dealer in wood. A writer says of him:

"General Grant occupied a little farm to the southwest of St. Louis, whence he was in the habit of cutting the wood and drawing it to Carondelet, and selling it in the market there. Many of his wood purchasers are now calling to mind that they had a cord of wood delivered in person by the great General Grant. When he came into the wood market, he was usually dressed in an old felt hat, with a blouse coat, and his pants tucked in the tops of his boots. In truth, he bore the appearance of a sturdy, honest woodsman. This was his winter's work. In the summer he turned a collector of debts; but for this he was not qualified. He had a noble and truthful soul; so when he was told that the debtor had no



money, he believed him, and would not trouble the debtor again. One of the leading merchants of St. Louis mentioned this circumstance to me. From all I can learn of his history here, he was honest, truthful, indefatigable—always at work at something; but he did not possess the knack of making money. He was honorable, for he always repaid borrowed money. His habits of life were hardy, inexpensive, and simple.”

He now, in 1859, removed to Galena, Illinois, where his father, Jesse R. Grant, then a man of sixty-five years of age, was engaged in the leather trade. Ulysses became partner in the business with his father. It was here in Galena, thus occupied in the peaceful pursuits of civil life, that Ulysses Simpson Grant in 1861 resided, when the storm of the rebellion burst with all its fury.

When Sumter had been fired upon, Grant believing the Government required his services, raised a company in Galena, and proceeded at once with it to Springfield, Illinois. Governor Yates was commencing to organize troops for the aid of the General Government, and he was ready to procure the assistance of a West-pointer, giving him a position as aid on his staff. After several months of arduous duty in this position, Grant requested the Governor to give him an appointment in one of the three years regiments then being organized. In the middle of June he resigned his position as mustering officer, and was appointed Colonel of the 21st Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, organized at Mattoon in that state. From here he removed his camp to Caseyville, and after drilling his regiment about four weeks, he was ordered to Missouri to guard the Hannibal and Hudson railroad in the north part of the state. He was here made acting brigadier general, and placed in command of all the troops in the district known as North Missouri. In August, his regiment was ordered to Pilot Knob, then to Feonton, then to Marble Creek. It was while Grant was shifting from position to position with his regiment, that the Government made the happy hit of appointing him brigadier general of volunteers, rank and commission dating from 17th of May, 1861. About thirty-one distinguished military men received appointments to similar positions at the same time. Among those appointed at that time were William T. Sherman, and Cox of Ohio, Hooker of California, McClelland of Illinois, Franz Siegel of Missouri, S. R. Curtis of Iowa, Heintzleman and Franklin of Pennsylvania, John W. Phelps of Vermont, and over twenty other illustrious names. Some have fallen in battle nobly leading on their divisions, while many of them yet hold positions high in the confidence of the Government. Soon after General Grant was appointed, he was placed in command of the district composed of Southeast Missouri, and Southern Illinois, headquarters at Cairo, located at the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers.

From this position, with only two Illinois regiments, four pieces of

artillery, and two gunboats, by a strategic movement on the 6th of September 1861, he advanced up to the mouth of the Tennessee river, and occupied Paducah; he sent on the same day the gunboat Conestoga up the Tennessee river, capturing three rebel steamers; and on the 25th of the same month, by the same sagacity and foresight, Smithland, at the mouth of the Cumberland was captured, and both rivers blockaded. This was the first development of military ability, coupled with success, made in the West.

From Cairo General Grant sent out expeditions in different directions. About the middle of October 1861, Colonel Plummer, commanding the 11th Missouri Volunteers, went towards Cape Girardeau in pursuit of Jeff. Thompson, who was reported to be at Fredricktown; here a little beyond the town, the rebels were found drawn up in line of battle. With the assistance of Colonel Carlins, Plummer fought the battle of Fredericktown, defeating the rebels, capturing one piece of artillery, and a number of prisoners.

Cairo now became an important position. The expedition against Belmont and Columbus was followed up early in November 1861. At the battle of Belmont, General Grant had his horse shot under him; he was amid all the scenes of danger, riding from point to point, cheering on his men. The bravery displayed by all on that occasion, will be seen by the following, read to the troops on their return to Cairo:

“HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT S. E. Mo.

“CAIRO, *November 8th*, 1861.

“The General commanding this military district returns his thanks to the troops under his command at the battle of Belmont on yesterday.

“It has been his fortune to have been in all the battles fought in Mexico by Generals Scott and Taylor, save Buena Vista, and he never saw one more hotly contested or where troops behaved with more gallantry.

“Such courage will insure victory wherever our flag may be borne and protected by such a class of men.

“To the brave who fell, the sympathy of the country is due, and will be manifested in a manner unmistakable.

“U. S. GRANT,

“*Brigadier-General Commanding.*”

On the 20th of December, 1861, General Grant was appointed by General Halleck, who was in charge of the department of the Missouri, to take charge of that district, with new and extended lines, then known as the “District of Cairo.”

General McClelland with about five thousand men, under the convoy of the gunboats *Essex* and *St. Louis*, with a supply of five days cooked



rations, steamed down the Mississippi. Three rebel gunboats made an attack on the Union convoys, but after an hour's engagement were forced to retire behind the batteries at Columbus, about eight miles below Cairo. Generals Paine, and C. F. Smith were also on the march to ascertain exactly the enemy's position and numbers. After a week's absence each commander returned to his former post.

The time had now come for an advance into some of the strongholds of the enemy. Fort Henry on the Tennessee river, near the boundary line between that state and Kentucky, the expedition arriving near the mouth, on the 5th of February, 1862, General Grant issued his order directing his mode of attack.

Towards noon of the 6th, the troops commenced, according to instructions, their advance upon the works. After a little over an hour's engagement the enemy lowered his colors and surrendered to Flag Officer Foote, who soon after passed the captured fortifications, including General Lloyd Tilghman, and its guns, to General Grant.

Fort Donaldson, a very strong rebel position on the Cumberland river, was General Grant's next move; and on the 11th of February, he issued an order, having sent back to Cairo for some reinforcements. On the 12th, General McClelland, C. F. Smith, and Lew Wallace, with their troops commenced the advance. At noon on that day the enemy's pickets were driven in. The next day, the 13th, was occupied principally by getting into position and waiting for the gunboats to arrive from Cairo with reinforcements. The gunboats had an important part to play in making the assault; at two o'clock on the afternoon of the 14th, the gunboats and reinforcements having arrived, the *Carondelet* had been attacking the Fort for about two hours on the 13th, but was compelled to withdraw for repairs. Six of the arrived vessels now moved up the river, receiving the fire of the lower batteries of the enemy. At seven minutes to three on the 14th, the *St. Louis* opened fire, and kept it up with great spirit until about half past four o'clock. The ironclads took up position within three hundred yards, and silenced the water batteries, and drove the rebel gunners from their posts, a shot having entered the pilot house of the *St. Louis* and shattered her wheel, other vessels having received severe damage—Flag Officer Foote ordered the squadron to drop down the river. On the morning of the 15th, the right of the Union line near the river below the Fort was furiously attacked by the rebels. The Eighth and Forty-first Illinois Regiments were the most exposed, and maintained their position with great bravery, until the rebels were reinforced at this point, when two of our batteries were also attacked and captured. The 18th, 29th, 30th, and 31st Illinois were quickly brought up; when a desperate struggle ensued. The Union troops recovered all except three of the captured pieces. At length,

overpowered by numbers, the Union forces were forced to fall back. The enemy grew bold at his seeming success. The Union regiments under Colonel Cruft, and Colonel Wallace's brigade came up, but the enemy was so elated with his expected victory, that he made a desperate charge which caused the Union troops to give way for the moment, although at another point of attack the enemy were being driven in. General Grant saw the position here, and hastened to meet it. General Smith was ordered to assault the left of the line, and carry the position at all hazards, while vigorous preparations were made to renew the contest on the right, and recover the ground lost in the morning. General Smith ordered the Third brigade of his division, embracing the 7th, 50th, and 42d Illinois; the 12th Iowa, and 13th Missouri, to move against one portion of the enemy's lines, while with the Fourth brigade, embracing the 2d, 7th, and 14th Iowa, and 25th Indiana Regiments, led on by him in person against another part of the works. The 2d Iowa led, followed by the 52d Indiana, while the sharpshooters were deployed on either flank as skirmishers. In this position the column moved on without firing a gun, carrying the position at the point of the bayonet. This great Union success gave the troops new courage along the entire lines. Soon after the Fifth brigade, the 8th Missouri, and 11th Indiana, were thrown by Colonel Smith against the enemy's position on the extreme right of the line from where the Union troops had been driven in the morning. Colonel Cruft was moved to his support; the assault was made in two columns, and the hill was carried by storm. This was the position on the evening of the 15th. On the morning of the 16th, the enemy displayed a white flag, proposing to surrender the Fort—but the rebel S. B. Buckner requested an armistice of twelve hours to agree on the terms of capitulation. General Grant's reply was: "No terms other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

U. S. GRANT.

Buckner acceded to the terms, and the capture of Fort Donaldson was made complete. Union loss in the engagement was 446 killed, 1735 wounded, and 150 prisoners. Rebel loss 231 killed, 1700 wounded, and nearly 14,000 prisoners, including Buckner, 48 cannon, and 17 heavy guns; 20,000 stand of arms, 3000 horses, and any quantity of commissary stores. The next day two regiments of Tennessee troops, ignorant of its capture, were permitted to march into the fort, making in all about 16,000 prisoners. This is the largest number of prisoners of war up to this date ever taken on this continent. General Grant was now again promoted—to the rank of Major General of Volunteers, his commission dating February 16th, 1862, the day of the surrender of Fort Donaldson.



General Halleck at this time issued an order creating the new district of West Tennessee, embracing the country between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers to the Mississippi State line and Cairo. On the 17th February, 1862, General Grant issued his order taking command. After the occupation of Nashville by General Nelson on February 24th, General Grant moved his headquarters to Fort Henry where he spent some days in fitting out another expedition. Although great and important events had just taken place on the Tennessee and Cumberland, yet a mightier was at hand. The capture of the two strong outposts, Henry and Donaldson, on the border, served to rouse and call the more desperate and confident foe from his hiding-place in the interior. General Beauregard had assembled a strong rebel force at Corinth, 92 miles east of Memphis at the junction of the Mobile and Ohio, and Memphis and Charleston railroads. General Johnston who was at Murfreesboro, immediately started for Corinth and joined Beauregard. On April the 1st, here was assembled the strongest force the South had yet gathered on any battle-field. The South dreaded an invasion from the Union army victorious, and then resting in West Tennessee, and to prevent it, gathered an army of near 60,000 men, under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston. Johnston drew to his assistance such men as Beauregard, Polk, Bragg, Hardee, Crittenden, and Breckenridge. With such an array of rebel commanders, urged on by the desperate emergency of the occasion, being sent there to prevent the invasion of the cotton States and to meet this great array of ability and strength, Major General Grant had about 38,000 men, with McClellan, W. H. S. Wallace, Lewis Wallace, Hurlburt, W. T. Sherman, as division commanders, and the gunboats Tyler, Captain Gwin, and Lexington, Captain Shirk commanding. This was the status on the third of April. Johnston had postponed the attack until the 5th, waiting till the arrival of additional reinforcements.

General Buell's forces had been ordered from Nashville to assist the Union army, and were hastening up, but before they arrived, Johnston at six o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, pushed his advanced guard up to the 25th Missouri regiment, under Prentiss. They supposing the advance to be the enemy's pickets, commenced to drive them back. The rebels being ready, soon advanced in great force against the left wing, pouring the grape and cannister and shell into the Union camp. The boys soon organized and commenced to return the compliment, when the rebel force became directed against the left centre, Sherman's division driving the men back from their camps. The rebels now with a fresh force opened fire on the left wing, under General McClellan. The fire was returned with great bravery and deadly effect by both artillery and infantry along the whole line—a distance of about four miles.

General Hurlburt's division was thrown forward to support the centre,

when a desperate conflict ensued. The rebels were driven back with terrible slaughter, when they rallied and in turn drove our men back. The contest raged fearfully, the rebel commanders hurling their forces at one time against the extreme left, then against the right, and then with renewed ferocity against the centre. Major Taylor's Chicago artillery raked the rebels down by scores, but the smoke no sooner cleared away than the breach would be again filled. Late in the afternoon the rebels saw General Buell approaching with 18,000 fresh troops. He was yet on the opposite side of the Tennessee river, and they knew their chances of success were extremely doubtful if his troops effected a crossing. General Wallace was only about six miles down the river at Camp Landing; although the boats were sent to bring him and his command up, yet he had not arrived at five o'clock. The rebel commanders comprehending the position, made a furious attack on the left wing, driving it back so as to occupy over two-thirds of its camp, and were fighting with a dreadful degree of confidence in driving the Union army back into the river. At the same time they were heavily engaging our right. In the meantime General Buell's forces were on the opposite bank of the river anxious to take part in the struggle; but the principal part of the transport boats having been sent to Savannah there was no means at his command by which he could cross the river during that day's engagement.

General Grant, with his staff who had been recklessly riding along the lines during the entire day amid the unceasing storm of bullets, grape, and shell, now late in the evening rode from right to left urging the men to stand firm until reinforcement could be got across the river. Just before night closed in, a general cannonading was opened upon the enemy upon our whole line. Such a roar of artillery had then never been heard on this continent. As the evening grew dark the reply of the rebels became less frequent. The gunboats Lexington and Tyler had been raining shell on the rebel hordes. This last effort was too much for them to stand, and about dark their firing had nearly ceased. Thus ended the conflict on the evening of the 6th. The rebels had spent their fury in order to destroy Grant's army before the reinforcements under Generals Buell and Wallace which they knew were coming and already now advancing, could arrive. But they failed to accomplish it.

At half past two o'clock General Johnston commander-in-chief of the rebel army, while leading a charge, was mortally wounded. He was hit with a musket ball on the calf of the right leg; believing it only a flesh wound he continued in the saddle, giving orders until he became exhausted from the loss of blood. Fainting, with extended arms, he was caught by the rebel Governor Harris as he fell from his horse, and amid the roar of artillery and excitement of battle breathed his last. News of



his death was kept from the rebel army during the entire day. Johnston was a graduate of West Point in 1820 ; was in the Black Hawk war ; left the United States army in 1836 and emigrated to Texas, arriving shortly after the battle of San Jacinto, and entered the Texan army as a private, but was soon promoted to succeed General Felix Houston in the chief command, after which Houston and him fought a duel, Johnston being wounded. He was then appointed Secretary of War, and in 1839 led an expedition against the Cherokees, fighting the battle of the Neches, was an ardent advocate of annexation of Texas to the United States in 1846. He took the field as commander of the Volunteer Texas Rifle Regiment, under General Taylor, against Mexico, after which he conducted the military expedition sent to Salt Lake in 1857. He had command of the Military District of Utah when the rebellion commenced. He was six feet high, strongly and powerfully framed, of Scotch lineage, naturally fair complexion, and was sixty years old when he died. Loss of the Confederates in the two days battle was, killed, 1,728 ; wounded, 8,012 ; missing, 959.

Night closed the day's combat, and both armies rested from their awful work of death and carnage.

The Union forces rested on their arms in the position they held when darkness set in. During Sunday night the reinforcements of Buell and Wallace were taken to important positions on the battle ground, General Buell himself having arrived on the opposite side of the river on the evening of the 6th.

At daylight on the morning of the 7th General Grant became the assaulting party. General Nelson's division of Buell's army occupied the advance on the left wing. Advancing, they opened a galling fire, the rebels falling back. At the same time Major General Wallace with his division opened on the right, and the fire soon became general along the whole line. Generals McClernand, Sherman, Hurlburt, with their troops jaded from the previous days hard fighting, maintained throughout the second day's conflict the same vigor and unyielding bravery.

The hopes of the rebel commanders the previous day (that of destroying Grant's army before Buell and Wallace arrived) had now proved delusive, and they entered the conflict on the morning of the 7th with revenge deepened from disappointment ; with this feeling they urged their men on right up into the jaws of death. At every appearance of success on the right, when they were making a last desperate effort to flank the Union army, they cheered like savages ; but instead of flanking us on the right, about 11 o'clock in the day, General Nelson flanked them on the left, and captured their batteries of artillery.

They again rallied on the left and made another desperate effort, but reinforcements from Generals Wood and Thomas came to Buell's aid, and

he again commenced to drive the enemy. About three o'clock in the afternoon General Grant rode to the left, where he had ordered fresh regiments, finding the rebels wavering, sent a portion of his bodyguard to the head of each of five regiments, then ordered a charge across the field, *himself leading and far in the advance brandishing his sword, waved them on to the crowning victory, the cannon balls falling like hail around him.*

His men followed with a shout that rose above the roar and din of artillery, the rebels fleeing in dismay as from a destroying avalanche, and never made another stand. By five o'clock the entire rebel army was in full retreat to Corinth, with our army in hot pursuit.

Some have supposed that Grant's battle-ground was not well chosen, with the Tennessee river in his rear. General Buell said to him, "Suppose you had been whipped, you had transports only sufficient to cross over about 10,000 men." "Well," says the great chieftain, "if I had been whipped, that would have been abundant for all that would have been left of us."

From the 8th to the 13th of April, the army under command of General Halleck, continued to pursue the enemy to Monterey, Pea Ridge, Purdy, arriving within a few miles of Corinth where Beauregard had retreated and concentrated his forces to make another stand. The Union army was now reorganizing, and General Grant placed second in command. The army of the Tennessee (right) under General Grant; the army of the Mississippi (left) under General Pope; and the army of the Ohio (centre) under General Buell. About this time an effort was made by rival military aspirants, and their satellites, to bring General Grant into disrepute by criticizing his military capacity and charging him with dissipation; but a timely exposure of their malicious designs, by the Hon. E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, in an able speech delivered in the United States House of Representatives May 2d, 1862, checkmated their game. On the 27th Sherman, Thomas, Buell, and Pope, under the special direction of General Grant made a reconnoissance within gunshot of the rebel works at Corinth. While General Grant was preparing for a siege, Beauregard on the 30th evacuated the place, retreating by way of Baldwin and Tupelo. While Beauregard was retreating from Corinth, Memphis on the Mississippi river was captured, and four gunboats sunk. This was the result of a naval engagement in front of the place on the 6th day of June. New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Natchez, and Memphis were now all in the possession of the Federal forces.

On the 17th of July, 1862, General Halleck took leave of his army preparatory to assuming a more exalted position. The department was now subdivided, and under the command of different generals. The department of West Tennessee was assigned to General Grant, with Corinth as his headquarters. Very little was done in a military way except a few



skirmishes, which always resulted favorable to the Union troops, until the middle of September, when the rebel generals were organizing at Iuka and other points to break through the Union lines and retake the conquered territory. Van Dorn was to remain to defend Vicksburg. Breckenridge was to make his way into Kentucky, and Price to go to Tennessee.

#### THE BATTLE OF IUKA.

General Grant says: "On the 16th of September we commenced to collect our strength to move upon Price, at Iuka, in two columns; the one to the right of the railroad commanded by Brigadier General (now Major-General) W. S. Rosecrans; the one to the left commanded by Major General E. O. C. Ord. On the night of the 18th, the latter was in position to bring on an engagement in one hour's march. The former, from having a greater distance to march, and, through the fault of a guide, was twenty miles back. On the 19th, by making a rapid march, hardy, well-disciplined, and tried troops arrived within two miles of the place to be attacked. Unexpectedly the enemy took the initiative and became the attacking party. The ground chosen was such that a large force on our side could not be brought into action; but the bravery and endurance of those brought in was such that, with the skill and presence of mind of the officer commanding, they were able to hold their ground till night closed the conflict. During the night the enemy fled, leaving our troops in possession of the field, with their dead to bury and wounded to care for. If it was the object of the enemy to make their way into Kentucky: they were defeated in that; if to hold their position until Van Dorn could come up on the southwest of Corinth, and make a simultaneous attack, they were defeated in that. Our only defeat was in not capturing the entire army, or in destroying it, as I had hoped to do.

"It was a part of General Hamilton's command that did the fighting, directed entirely by that cool and deserving officer. I commend him to the President for acknowledgment of his services."

This battle of Iuka was a part of the battle of Corinth. The rebel Gen. Price supposed that Gen. Grant would have been compelled to withdraw his forces from Corinth on the 19th of September, to assist those who were collecting at Iuka. The rebel Gen. Van Dorn was waiting for the move, but Gen. Grant understood their game, and sent Gen. Ord to that point.

The rebel armies of Van Dorn and Price, under Gen. Van Dorn, formed a juncture at Ripley, and commenced to march on Corinth. October the 2d the rebel army marched from Pocahontas to Chewalla, on the Memphis and Charleston railroad, thus moving from the west on Corinth.

Gen. Grant, aware of the enemy's movements on the morning of Friday, October 3d, had sent a large force some miles in front of his intrenched works, to meet him. At 7 o'clock, A. M., the rebel Gen. Lovell's division, with Gen. Villipigue's artillery, opened fire. It was not Gen. Grant's plan to continue the struggle so far from his fortifications, therefore the Union forces fell back to within one mile of their entrenched works, when, at half-past nine o'clock, a severe engagement took place. The Union forces were now ordered to fall back into the fortifications, which they did handsomely, and brought up several heavy field guns and opened a galling and destructive fire on the enemy's advance.

This retiring behind the entrenchments caused the rebel Gen. Van Dorn, (who little understood their strength,) to dispatch on Friday night to Richmond news that he had won a great victory.

On the morning of the 4th, Van Dorn continued in supreme command. Gen. Price commanded the left wing, and Gen. Lovell the right wing, which was stationed west of Corinth, and just south of the Memphis and Charleston railroad. The battle was commenced by Gen. Price half an hour before daylight, within a few hundred yards of the Union breastworks. Heavy skirmishing was kept up along the line until 10, A. M. About this time one portion of the rebel lines broke, running pell-mell into Corinth, losing all semblance of order, infantry and cavalry being crowded together in one dense mass, wild with excitement.

But the batteries, under the orders of the Union general, had been so placed as to command the village, as well as the approaches to it. All the Union guns now opened on this disorganized rebel mob, who were cut down by thousands, almost swept from the face of the earth. Van Dorn here began to understand that his supposed victory would result in disastrous and disgraceful defeat. A lodgment in the village was out of the question, therefore he moved in single columns, eight deep, and moved in silence to assault the battery on College Hill, which was his forlorn hope. After being several times repulsed by the brave Union troops, at last additional guns were brought to bear, and a murderous fire opened on the rebels which nothing human could stand; the few that were left alive became confused, and fled in wild dismay from the vortex of death. At 3 P. M., the rebel army had fallen back in great confusion. The rebel loss, in killed, wounded and prisoners, was over 10,000 men, 4000 stand of arms, and two pieces of artillery.

Gen. Grant says :

“ HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF WEST TENN.,  
“ JACKSON, TENN., *October 7th, 1862.*

“ It is with heartfelt gratitude the General Commanding congratulates the armies of the West for another great victory won by them on the 3d,



4th, and 5th instants, over the combined armies of Van Dorn, Price, and Lovell.

“ The enemy chose his own time and plan of attack, and knowing the troops of the West as he does, and with great facilities for knowing their numbers, never would have made the attempt except with a superior force numerically. But for the undaunted bravery of officers and soldiers, who have yet to learn defeat, the efforts of the enemy must have proven successful.

“ Whilst one division of the army, under Major-General Rosecrans, was resisting and repelling the onslaught of the rebel hosts at Corinth, another from Bolivar, under Major-General Hurlbut, was marching upon the enemy's rear, driving in their pickets and cavalry, and attracting the attention of a large force of infantry and artillery. On the following day, under Major-General Ord, these forces advanced with unsurpassed gallantry, driving the enemy back across the Hatchie, over ground where it is almost incredible that a superior force should be driven by an inferior, capturing two of the batteries (eight guns), many hundred small arms, and several hundred prisoners.

“ To those two divisions of the army all praise is due, and will be awarded by a grateful country.”

The rebel army retreated, crossing the Hatchie River, and halting at a point a little north of Ripley. On the 16th of October, 1862, General Grant's department was extended so as to embrace the State of Mississippi as far north as Vicksburg, and he issued an order to that effect dated Jackson, Tenn., October 25th, 1862. Galveston, Texas, had been captured by the naval force on the 9th of October; these, with defeats in Tennessee, began to tell on the nervous rebel leaders when they saw 388 vessels of war, mounting 3072, nearly nine to the vessel, and among these, thirty iron clads, mounting ninety of the heaviest guns in the world, each weighing 42,240 pounds, and throwing a solid shot fifteen inches in diameter, weighing 480 pounds. All eyes were now turned on East Tennessee and Vicksburg, as the next important positions. The rebel government had entrusted Vicksburg to Gen. Pemberton, and instructed Van Dorn and Price to render him all assistance possible. Gen. Grant advanced from Jackson, Tenn., to Holly Springs, Miss. It was while Gen. Grant was here making arrangements to capture Vicksburg, that President Lincoln issued his famous Emancipation Proclamation. On the 29th of January, 1863, Grant moved his headquarters to Milliken's Bend; from this position he intended to flank the works upon the south side of the city; an effort was also made to re-open the canal across the peninsula, on the Louisiana side of the river, first commenced by Gen. Williams, a gallant officer, who was subsequently killed at Baton Rouge.

Early in February, the ram *Queen of the West*, under command of Col.

Charles R. Ellet, ran past the batteries at Vicksburg, and after proceeding up Red River and capturing a large amount of valuable stores, and one steamer, coming in contact with three rebel armed steamers, the pilot of the *Queen* ran her aground in easy range of their guns, and Col. Ellet was forced to abandon her. The gunboat *Indianola* had also ran past the batteries, but on the night of the 24th was met and captured by the rebel fleet, but she sank before her captors could get possession of her.

On the 21st of March, 1863, Admiral Farragut's flag-ship, the *Hartford*, which with the *Albatrose* (two out of the six that started,) had succeeded in running past the batteries at Port Hudson,—this port is situated about sixteen miles above Baton Rouge, and 300 below Vicksburg,—arrived below Vicksburg, and the Admiral communicated with Gen. Grant. Four days later the Union rams *Lancaster* and *Switzerland* attempted to pass the Vicksburg batteries, but the former was sunk, and the latter disabled by the rebel guns. On the 29th of March part of the Union army captured, after two hours' fighting, the town of Richmond, La.

Admiral Porter, with a number of gunboats and other vessels, began transporting the army across the Mississippi. On the night of the 16th of April the vessels succeeded in running the gauntlet, and one week afterwards the transports, loaded with troops, also made the perilous trip. Colonel (now General) B. H. Grierson, of the first cavalry brigade, was detailed by Grant to cut all the enemy's communications with Vicksburg. Col. Grierson having destroyed bridges, railroads, locomotives, and every communication, and having routed the enemy wherever encountered, arrived at Baton Rouge on the 1st of May.

It was Gen. Grant's intention to circumvent the defences of Vicksburg. First, by the canal across the isthmus opposite the city; second, by the effort to get through the Yazoo Pass; third, the Lake Providence canal project. It was his aim to get in the rear or below Vicksburg, but the natural difficulties were too great to be successfully overcome. The rebel fortifications at Snyder's Bluff, on the Yazoo, or his batteries in front of the city, were about the only points susceptible of assault.

On the nights of the 16th and 22d of April, 1863, two fleets of gunboats and transports ran past the rebel batteries at Vicksburg without receiving material damage. From the 22d of December, 1862, the capture of Vicksburg became a necessity, and from that day until the 4th of July, 1863, its entrenchments and garrison had little rest; its besieger knowing no such word as fail, applied every means to overcome the difficulties that nature and art had thrown in the way of its capture. Through all these long, dreary months Gen. Grant continued, with his brave army, to persevere, and every obstacle was finally overcome. Up to the 22d of May all the combinations were so arranged as to carry the place by assault, but the developments of that day's fighting convinced



the commanding General that that mode of capture would be attended with too great a waste of life. From that day Gen. Grant determined to capture the place by a regular siege. He brought on more troops, which enabled him to make the investment more complete, and give him a chance to keep a large reserve to watch the movements of the rebel Gen. Johnston, who was then gathering a force in Grant's rear, threatening to compel him to raise the siege.

“ On the afternoon of the third of July a letter was received from Lieutenant-General Pemberton, commanding the confederate forces at Vicksburg, proposing an armistice, and the appointment of commissioners to arrange terms for the capitulation of the place. The correspondence, copies of which are herewith transmitted, resulted in the surrender of the city and garrison of Vicksburg at ten o'clock A. M., July fourth, 1863, on the following terms ; ‘ The entire garrison, officers and men, were to be paroled, not to take up arms against the United States until exchanged by the proper authorities ; officers and men each to be furnished with a parole, signed by himself ; officers to be allowed their side-arms and private baggage, and the field, staff, and cavalry officers one horse each ; the rank and file to be allowed all their clothing, but no other property ; rations from their own stores sufficient to last them beyond our lines ; the necessary cooking utensils for preparing their food ; and thirty wagons to transport such articles as could not well be carried. These terms I regarded more favorable to the Government than an unconditional surrender. It saved us the transportation of them North, which at time would have been very difficult, owing to the limited amount of river transportation on hand, and the expense of subsisting them. It left our army free to operate against Johnston, who threatened us from the direction of Jackson ; and our river transportation to be used for the movement of troops to any point the exigency of the service might require.

“ I deem it proper to state here, in order that the correspondence may be fully understood, that after my answer to General Pemberton's letter of the morning of the third, we had a personal interview on the subject of the capitulation.”

“ The result of this campaign has been the defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg ; the occupation of Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg and its garrison and munitions of war ; a loss to the enemy of thirty-seven thousand (37,000) prisoners ; among whom were fifteen general officers ; at least ten thousand killed and wounded, and among the killed Generals Tracy, Tilghman, and Green, and hundreds perhaps thousands of stragglers, who can never be collected and reorganized. Arms and munitions of war for an army of sixty thousand men have fallen into our hands, besides a large amount of other public property, consisting of railroads, locomo-

tives cars, steam-boats, cotton, etc., and much was destroyed to prevent our capturing it.

“ Our loss in the series of battles may be summed up as follows :

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Port Gibson.....	130....	718....	5
Fourteen-Mile Creek (skirmish).....	4....	24....	..
Raymond.....	69....	341....	32
Jackson.....	40....	240....	6
Champion's Hill.....	426....	1,842....	189
Big Black Railroad Bridge.....	29....	242....	2
Vicksburg.....	245....	3,688....	303

“ Of the wounded, many were but slightly, and continued on duty ; many more required but a few days or weeks for their recovery. Not more than one-half of the wounded were permanently disabled.

“ My personal staffs and chiefs of departments have in all cases rendered prompt and efficient service.”

#### THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN GENERAL GRANT AND THE REBEL PEMBERTON.

The following account of the interview between the generals commanding the opposite armies, is given by an eye-witness :

“ At three o'clock precisely, one gun, the pre-arranged signal, was fired, and immediately replied to by the enemy. General Pemberton then made his appearance on the works in Mc Pherson's front, under a white flag, considerably on the left of what is known as Fort Hill. General Grant rode through our trenches until he came to an outlet, leading to a small green space, which had not been trod by either army. Here he dismounted, and advanced to meet General Pemberton, with whom he shook hands, and greeted familiarly.

“ It was beneath the outspreading branches of a gigantic oak that the conference of the generals took place. Here presented the only space which had not been used for some purpose or other by the contending armies. The ground was covered with a fresh luxuriant verdure ; here and there a shrub or clump of bushes could be seen standing out from the green growth on the surface, while several oaks filled up the scene, and gave it character. Some of the trees in their tops exhibited the effects of flying projectiles, by the loss of limbs or torn foliage, and in their trunks the indentations of smaller missiles plainly marked the occurrences to which they had been silent witnesses.

“ The party made up to take part in the conference was composed as follows :

#### “*United States Officers.*”

“ Major-General U. S. Grant.

“ Major-General James B. Mc Pherson.

“ Brigadier -General A. J. Smith.



*“ Rebel Officers.*

“ Lieutenant-General John C. Pemberton.

“ Major-General Bowen.

“ Colonel Montgomery, A. A.-G. to General Pemberton.

“ When Generals Grant and Pemberton met they shook hands, Colonel Montgomery introducing the party. A short silence ensued, at the expiration of which General Pemberton remarked :

“ ‘ General Grant, I meet you in order to arrange terms for the capitulation of the city of Vicksburg and its garrison. What terms do you demand ?’

“ ‘ *Unconditional surrender,*’ replied General Grant.

“ ‘ Unconditional surrender !’ said Pemberton. ‘ Never, so long as I have a man left me ! I will fight rather.’

“ ‘ Then sir you can continue the defence,’ coolly said General Grant. My army has never been in a better condition for the prosecution of a siege.”

“ During the passing of these few preliminaries, General Pemberton was greatly agitated, quaking from head to foot, while General Grant experienced all his natural self-possession, and evinced not the least sign of embarrassment.

“ After a short conversation standing, by a kind of mutual tendency the two general’s wandered off from the rest of the party and seated themselves on the grass, in a cluster of bushes, where alone they talked over the important events then pending. General Grant could be seen, even at that distance, talking coolly, occasionally giving a few puffs at his favorite companion—his black cigar. General McPherson, General A. J. Smith, General Bowen, and Colonel Montgomery, imitating the example of the commanding generals, seated themselves at some distance off, while the respective staffs of the generals formed another and larger group in the rear.

“ After a lengthy conversation the generals separated. General Pemberton did not come to any conclusion on the matter, but stated his intention to submit the matter to a council of general officers of his command ; and, in the event of their assent, the surrender of the city should be made in the morning. Until morning was given him to consider, to determine upon the matter, and send in his final reply. The generals now rode to their respective quarters.”

The same correspondent, under date of July 4th, 1863, writes as follows :

“ Having a few hours leisure this morning, prior to the arrival of the despatch from General Pemberton, stating he was ready to surrender, I took occasion to visit General Grant, and found everybody about his

head-quarters in a state of the liveliest satisfaction. It was evident the glorious events of the day were duly appreciated.

“The General I found in conversation more animated than I have ever known him. He is evidently contented with the manner in which he has acquitted himself of the responsible task which has for more than five months engrossed his mind and his army. The consummation is one of which he may well be proud. From Bruinsburg to Vicksburg, nineteen days, presents one of the most active records of marches, actions, and victories of the war. All the combined operations of our armies, for a similiar length of time, can not equal it. It is unparalleled, the only campaign of the war which has involved celerity of movement, attack, victory, pursuit, and the annihilation of the enemy.”

On the 8th of July, Port Hudson was surrendered to General Banks with 51 pieces of artillery, 5,000 stand of arms, a large quantity of ammunition and stores, and nearly 6,000 men and officers, including two Generals. The capture of Vicksburg was a victory fruitful of great results ; it opened the Mississippi river, and its navigation has continued uninterrupted (except by a few guerillas) along the entire course of that stream from St. Louis to its mouth until the present time.

General Grant, for his great services, was now October 16, 1863, appointed Major General in the regular army, his commission to date July 4th, 1863. The officers under his command also presented him with a magnificent sword. At Memphis, New Orleans, and Indianapolis, he received the congratulations of his countrymen. The departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee, were constituted by order of President Lincoln into one military division, to be called “The Military Division of the Mississippi, and Major General Grant appointed to take command of the same. This new command embraced the states of Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Northern Alabama, and North-western Georgia. This gave the commanding general four large armies, that with which he conquered Vicksburg, the army of the Cumberland, the army of the Ohio, General Hooker’s grand division. Sherman, Thomas, Burnside, Hooker, and subsequently Foster, were his army commanders.

The following corps were also embraced in the command : The Fourth army corps, General Granger ; the Ninth army corps, General Potter ; the Eleventh army corps, General Howard ; the Twelfth army corps, General Slocum ; the Fourteenth army corps, General Palmer ; the Fifteenth army corps, General J. A. Logan ; the Sixteenth army corps, General Hurlbut ; the Seventeenth army corps, General McPherson ; the Twenty-third army corps, General Manson.

Large as was the command thus entrusted to General Grant, the strength of the rebel army in the Southwest was but little less stupen-



dous—troops from all parts of the rebellious States, where their absence from other fields was not detrimental to their infamous cause, having been gathered there by General Bragg to thwart the plans of the Union commander, and to hold Kentucky and Middle Tennessee. They freely acknowledged it was better to “give up the seacoast—better to give up the Southwest—better to give up Richmond without a struggle, than lose the golden fields whose grain and wool were their sole hope.”

On the 23d of October, 1863, General Grant reached Chattanooga and assumed command of the army of the Mississippi. Reinforcements now began to arrive, and preparations made for the new campaign.

Bragg had already commenced the siege, but the tactics of Grant in opening river communication with the base of supplies, soon convinced Bragg that the garrison could not be starved out; he also became satisfied that Chattanooga could not be captured.

Thus Bragg was forced to undertake the capture of Knoxville. Burnside was holding a line on the Tennessee river, extending from Loudon to Kingston, possessing great natural advantages. He informed Grant of Longstreet's approach, and also stated that he could prevent him from crossing the Tennessee river, but Grant instructed Burnside to make no defence of the line but to fall back on Knoxville and stand a siege, promising to relieve him in a few days. This strategy told Longstreet on beyond the reach of supporting Bragg. This divided the rebel army in two. Bragg hearing of the approach of General Sherman to Grant's aid, attempted on November 22d, 1863, to abandon his strong position before Chattanooga and retire for safety beyond the mountains. Grant was not willing to let Bragg off so cheaply, and made a move to detain him, and by commencing his operations one day sooner than he intended, compelled the rebel leader to remain in his rifle pits and accept battle. This was no blind uncertain striking that won the Alma, and Magenta. Grant had determined upon it six days before it was executed, and spent two entire days in watching from the very point of the line for the moment at which to attempt it. Grant was not only in command of his own army, but the enemy's movements were forced upon him. Every movement of the rebel commander may be said to be ordered by Grant. Bragg in the command of the rebel army was merely his mouth-piece. Grant's plan of battle contemplated the breaking of the enemy's center, but it being strongly posted on a mountain ridge almost inaccessible, it rendered success only possible. Two days labor attacking the flanks weakened Bragg's center; this was what Grant worked for, and when the golden moment came, Grant instantly ordered the assault of the center, which resulted in the victory, capturing several thousand prisoners, and sixty pieces of artillery. Burnside about the same time defeated Longstreet at Knoxville (Fort Saunders), while Sherman was advancing to his relief.

The rebels abandoned the siege, Longstreet retreating to Virginia, where he joined Lee directly after the battle of Fredricksburg.

GENERAL MEIGS'S REVIEW OF THE BATTLES.

Add to this report the one sent to the Secretary of War by Quartermaster-General Meigs, and we have an accurate and interesting account of the great battles.

General Meigs wrote as follows :

“ HEAD-QUARTERS, CHATTANOOGA, Nov. 26th, 1863.

“ EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War* :

“ SIR :—On the twenty-third instant, at half-past eleven, A. M., General Grant ordered a demonstration against Missionary Ridge, to develop the force holding it. The troops marched out, formed in order, and advanced in line of battle as if on parade.

“ The rebels watched the formation and movement from their picket lines and rifle-pits, and from the summits of Missionary Ridge, five hundred feet above us, and thought it was a review and drill, so openly and deliberately, so regular was it all done.

“ The line advanced, preceded by skirmishers, and at two o'clock, P. M., reached our picket lines, and opened a rattling volley upon the rebel pickets, who replied and ran into their advanced line of rifle-pits. After them went our skirmishers and into them, along the centre of the line of twenty-five thousand troops which General Thomas had so quickly displayed, until we opened fire. Prisoners assert that they thought the whole movement was a review and general drill, and that it was too late to send to their camps for reinforcements, and that they were overwhelmed by force of numbers. It was a surprise in open daylight.

“ At three, P. M., the important advanced position of Orchard Knob and the lines right and left were in our possession, and arrangements were ordered for holding them during the night.

“ The next day at daylight, General Sherman had five thousand men across the Tennessee, and established on its south bank, and commenced the construction of a pontoon bridge about six miles above Chattanooga. The rebel steamer Dunbar was repaired at the right moment, and rendered effective aid in this crossing, carrying over six thousand men.

“ By nightfall General Thomas had siezed the extremity of Missionary Ridge nearest the river, and was intrenching himself. General Howard, with a brigade, opened communication with him from Chattanooga on the south side of the river. Skirmishing and cannonading continued all day on the left and centre. General Hooker sealed the slopes of Lookout Mountain, and from the valley of Lookout Creek drove the rebels



around the point. He captured some two thousand prisoners, and established himself high up the mountain-side, in full view of Chattanooga. This raised the blockade, and now steamers were ordered from Bridgeport to Chattanooga. They had run only to Kelly's Ferry, whence ten miles of hauling over mountain roads, and twice across the Tennessee on pontoon bridges brought us our supplies.

"All night the point of Missionary Ridge on the extreme left and the side of Lookout Mountain on the extreme right blazed with the campfires of loyal troops.

"The day had been one of dense mists and rains, and much of General Hooker's battle was fought above the clouds, which concealed him from our view, but from which his musketry was heard.

"At nightfall the sky cleared, and the full moon—'the traitor's doom'—shone upon the beautiful scene, until one, A. M., when twinkling sparks upon the mountain-side showed that picket-skirmishing was going on. Then it ceased. A brigade sent from Chattanooga, crossed the Chattanooga Creek and opened communication with Hooker.

"General Grant's head-quarters during the afternoon of the twenty-third and the day of the twenty-fourth, were in Wood's redoubt, except when in the course of the day he rode along the advanced line, visiting the head-quarters of the several commanders, in Chattanooga valley.

"At daylight, on the twenty-fifth, the Stars and Stripes were descried on the peak of Lookout. The rebels had evacuated the mountain.

"Hooker moved to descend the mountain, striking Missionary Ridge at the Rossville Gap, to sweep both sides and its summit.

"The rebel troops were seen, as soon as it was light enough, streaming regiments and brigades along the narrow summit of Missionary Ridge, either concentrating on the right to overwhelm Sherman, or marching for the railroad to raise the siege.

"They had evacuated the valley of Chattanooga. Would they abandon that of Chickamauga?

"The twenty-pounders and four-and-a-quarter-inch rifles of Wood's redoubt opened on Missionary Ridge. Orchard Knob sent its compliments to the ridge, which, with rifled parrots, answered, and the cannonade thus commenced, continued all day. Shot and shell screamed from Orchard Knob to Missionary Ridge, and from Missionary Ridge to Orchard Knob, and from Wood's redoubt, over the heads of Generals Grant and Thomas and their staffs, who were with us in this favorable position, from whence the whole battle could be seen as in an amphitheatre. The head-quarters were under fire all day long.

"Cannonading and musketry were heard from General Sherman, and General Howard marched the Eleventh corps to join him.

"General Thomas sent out skirmishers, who drove in the rebel pickets

and chased them into their intrenchments; and at the foot of Missionary Ridge, Sherman made an assault against Bragg's right, intrenched on a high knob next to that on which Sherman himself lay fortified. The assault was gallantly made.

" Sherman reached the edge of the crest, and held his ground for (it seemed to me) an hour, but was bloodily repulsed by reserves.

" A general advance was ordered, and a strong line of skirmishers followed by a deployed line of battle some two miles in length. At the signal of leaden shots from head-quarters on Orchard Knob, the line moved rapidly and orderly forward. The rebel pickets discharged their muskets and ran into their rifle-pits. Our skirmishers followed on their heels.

" The line of battle was not far behind, and we saw the gray rebels swarm out of the ledge line of rifle-pits and over the base of the hill in numbers which surprised us. A few turned and fired their pieces; but the greater number collected into the many roads which cross obliquely up its steep face, and went on to the top.

" Some regiments pressed on and swarmed up the steep sides of the Ridge, and here and there a color was advanced beyond the lines. The attempt appeared most dangerous; but the advance was supported, and the whole line was ordered to storm the heights, upon which not less than forty pieces of artillery, and no one knows how many muskets, stood ready to slaughter the assailants. With cheers answering to cheers, the men swarmed upward. They gathered to the points least difficult of access, and the line was broken. Color after color was planted on the summit, while musket and cannon vomited their thunder upon them.

" A well-directed shot from Orchard Knob exploded a rebel caisson on the summit and the gun was seen being speedily taken to the right, its driver lashing his horses. A party of our soldiers intercepted them, and the gun was captured, with cheers.

" A fierce musketry fight broke out to the left, where, between Thomas and Sherman, a mile or two of the ridge was still occupied by the rebels.

" Bragg left the house in which he had held his head-quarters, and rode to the rear, as our troops crowded the hill on either side of him.

" General Grant proceeded to the summit, and then only did we know its height.

" Some of the captured artillery was put into position. Artillerists were sent for to work the guns, and caissons were searched for ammunition.

" The rebel log-breastworks were torn to pieces and carried to the other side of the ridge and used in forming barricades across.

" A strong line of infantry was formed in the rear of Baird's line, and



engaged in a musketry contest with the rebels to the left, and a secure lodgment was soon effected.

“The other assault to the right of our centre gained the summit, and the rebels threw down their arms and fled.

“Hooker, coming into favorable position, swept the right of the ridge and captured many prisoners.

“Bragg’s remaining troops left early in the night, and the battle of Chattanooga, after days of manœuvering and fighting, was won. The strength of the rebellion in the centre is broken. Burnside is relieved from danger, in East Tennessee. Kentucky and Tennessee are rescued. Georgia and the Southeast are threatened in the rear, and another victory is added to the chapter of ‘Unconditional Surrender Grant.’

“To-night the estimate of captures is several thousand prisoners and thirty pieces of artillery.

“Our loss for so great a victory is not severe.

“Bragg is firing the railroad as he retreats towards Dalton. Sherman is in hot pursuit.

“To-day I viewed the battle field, which extends for six miles along Missionary Ridge and for several miles on Lookout Mountain.

“Probably not so well-directed, so well ordered a battle has taken place during the war. But one assault was repulsed; but that assault, by calling to that point the rebel reserves, prevented them repulsing any of the others.

“A few days since General Bragg sent to General Grant a flag of truce, advising him that it would be prudent to remove any non-combatants who might be still in Chattanooga. No reply has been returned; but the combatants having removed from this vicinity, it is probable that non-combatants can remain without imprudence.

“M. C. MEIGS, *Quartermaster-General.*”

Thus was the great victory of Chattanooga won. The star of General Grant’s military fame now rose far above the horizon. He had captured Forts Henry and Donaldson, and opened up the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers; whipped the great rebel army on the 6th and 7th of April, 1862, at Pittsburg Landing, and Shiloh, killing its commander, Albert Sidney Johnson, the bravest and most skillful officer among the insurgents. Beauregard, after the defeat of the 7th, fell back with the balance of the rebel troops to his works at Corinth. On the 29th of May, General Grant forced him to evacuate that stronghold. At Iuka, he again met and defeated the enemy; Price and Van Dorn, with a large army, made up mostly of Missourian, Arkansian, and Texan adventurers, about 50,000 strong, under command of General Van Dorn, who made a desperate effort on the 3d, 4th, and 5th of October, to retake Corinth and

capture the Union army, as he had before defeated Buckner, Johnston, and Beauregard. He now almost annihilates the new combination under Van Dorn.\* Thus far he had baffled and defeated all the plans of the rebel commanders. Pemberton, by holding Vicksburg, blockaded the Mississippi river. This great river had to be opened down to the sea, and in order to do it, Vicksburg had to be taken. All the rebel troops that could be spared were sent to Pemberton to assist in holding the place. But after a few months of incessant toil, hard fighting, and display of generalship the world had never seen, this great stronghold was captured. Port Hudson fell as a consequence, and the great Father of Waters now became open, and Uncle Sam's war-dogs of the flood (the gunboats) everywhere patrolled it, defiantly stopping to show their teeth to angry-whipped guerillas that lurked on its shores; then came food by vessels, and very soon it became the highway for commerce as of old, from St Louis to the Gulf of Mexico.

Then the great battle of Chattanooga, of which General Halleck remarks: "Considering the strength of the rebel position and the difficulty of storming his entrenchments, the battle of Chattanooga must be considered the most remarkable in history. For General Grant's great services he received a vote of thanks by the Congress of the United States, with appropriations for a gold medal; and President Lincoln approved the resolution, December 17th, 1863.

This medal on one side presents a profile of the General, surrounded by a laurel wreath, beneath which is his name, and the dates of his victories. On the obverse is the figure of Fame reclining on the American eagle, shielded; Fame holding in her right hand a trumpet, and in her left a scroll on which is inscribed "VICKSBURG, CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI RIVER, CHATTANOOGA;" on her head an ornamented helmet. Beneath all are represented sprigs of pine and palm intertwined; while over all are the words. "*Proclaim Liberty throughout all the Land.*"

While at Nashville, Tenn., perfecting some arrangement for the division of the Mississippi, Gen. Grant issued the following order assuming command of the armies of the United States:

" HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,  
" NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, March 17, 1864.

" In pursuance of the following order of the President:

" 'EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 10, 1864.

" ' Under the authority of the act of Congress to appoint to the grade

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\* Dr. Peters of Arkansas afterwards shot Van Dorn for seducing his wife, blowing out his brains instantly.



of Lieutenant-General in the army, of March 1st, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, United State Army, is appointed to the command of the armies of the United States.      “ ‘ ABRAHAM LINCOLN.’ ”

“ I assume command of the Armies of the United States. Headquarters will be in the field, and, until further orders, will be with the Army of the Potomac. There will be an office headquarters in Washington, to which all official communications will be sent, except those from the Army where the headquarters are at the date of their address.

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*”

On the 23 of March, 1864, General Grant again arrived at Washington, accompanied by his wife and son. Brig. Gen. Rawlings, Col. Duff, Maj. Rawley, and Capt. Bedeau, of the General's staff, were with him. In a few days he had established his headquarters in the Army of the Potomac, at Culpepper Court House.

On the 24th of March, 1864, a re-organization of the Army of the Potomac was effected. The number of army corps were reduced to three ; the Second, under command of Major-General Winfield S. Hancock ; the Fifth, under command of Major-General G. W. Warren ; and the Sixth, under command of General Sedgwick. On the fourth of April, 1864, Major-General Sheridan was placed in command of the cavalry corps. Division officers were also re-assigned.

The plan suggested by General Scott, and adopted by McClellan, and submitted by him to President Lincoln in his memorandum of August 4th, 1861, just before his appointment as General in Chief, was the crushing of the seceding states by a system known as the anaconda strategy. This plan had proved a grievous failure, besides the Young Napoleon was without the requisite ability to discover the key-point of the enemy's position. Like the Athenian General Nicias, before Syracuse, he was feeble and vacillating, and looked for civilians to sympathize with his imbecility. He had long endeavored to cover his own inefficiency by creating needless difficulties in his superior's way ; and after a weak and sickly existence of four hundred and seventy days, his frail and feeble military life, so expensive to the nation, was brought to a close. Disaffected towards his superiors, and dissatisfied with himself, he joined the Copperhead faction, and entered the political arena and became the leader of all the sympathizers with the rebel cause in the free states, and engaged in organizing them politically to make a cowardly charge against the Administration, hoping to prove successful, and thereby retrieve his reputation lost in the field. The failure of his successors, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker, to become more successful, cast a shadow over the policy of his removal, and caused a doubt in

the soldiers' minds whether it had been dictated by wisdom; from a murmur they were passing into discontent. In fact, if it had not been for General Meade's great victory at Gettysburg, which convinced the Potomac army that others could lead them to victory, serious consequences might have resulted from the change, although three years' of bitter warfare had accomplished little for the Union cause in Virginia; yet Grant, with his troops had driven the rebel forces back from the Ohio, the Tennessee, and opened up the great Mississippi. The rebels themselves were compelled to acknowledge the western troops, equal to their own, and now Pickett's, Wilson's, and Pettigrew's rebel divisions, who made the charge on Meade's centre (McPherson's heights), on Friday, July 3d, 1863, were satisfied that no braver men ever lived than those comprising the gallant but badly managed army of the Potomac. Pickett's division lost every brigadier officer, and out of twenty-four regimental officers, only two remained unhurt; the other two divisions suffered nearly as much. This great victory convinced the army of the Potomac that Lee could be conquered. Inspired by new hope, McClellan and defeat passed from their minds together, and watching they patiently waited for the coming man. While this victory gave confidence to the army and friends of the government, the news of Lee's defeat and the fall of Vicksburg reached the rebel capital on the same day; and like the previous fall of Fort Donaldson and New Orleans, cast a dark shadow over the rebel cause, while McClellan was passing into oblivion. The sword that Grant wielded over Vicksburg had gained him the position of the first soldier of the Union. He had not only triumphed over great natural difficulties and elaborate defences, but his strategic march on the enemy's rear, and his after patient watching, placed in the military horizon another brilliant star; and then the surprise and ford of the river near Bragg's centre by Smith, and the manoeuvring by which the confederate lines were forced by Grant, a month later, at the battle of Chattanooga, are, as tactical achievements, far fitter to be classed with the best feats of Napoleon and Wellington, than any advantage won by any European General since the days of those giants in war.

It was no blind stroke such as won the Alma and Magenta, but simply a judicious use of the means at command, with ardor strong enough for a soldier, and coolness sufficient for a general; he watches with an eagle-eye the progress of the battle, and like Miltiades, on the plain of Marathon, or the great Macedonian at Arbela, is prepared to strike the decisive blow at the right time. Although Grant heretofore had been everywhere successful in the Southwest, yet he had never measured arms with Lee, who was acknowledged the best general in the confederate service, and his troops were the flower of the rebel army. McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker, had never been able to conquer him,



and the country was held in breathless suspense dreading that their hopes and expectation in Grant's success might never be realized. One of the grandest campaigns on record, surpassing any thing recorded in Persian, Macedonian, or Roman history, and all under the command of the Lieutenant-General was now about to commence; Sherman to pursue Johnston in Georgia, Gen. Banks on Red River, and General Steele in Arkansas, with Butler on the right bank of the James, threatening the rebel Capital.

The combinations were of a magnitude hitherto unknown in war. They extended over a vast territory from the Chesapeake Bay, on the Atlantic, to the Gulf of Mexico, thence northward through the great Indian Territory to the upper country of Missouri, and striking eastward included Tennessee and all the states in Rebellion. Having forward his orders to his Lieutenants in the different portions of the vast field over which he was master, the Lieutenant-General, accompanied by several of his staff officers, made a tour of survey of all the Union forces in Virginia.

By orders of Gen. Grant, active measures were taken to get into the field all recruits, new organizations and troops that could be spared. Reinforcements were constantly pouring into the army of the Potomac. The notes of military preparation all over the country indicated the near approach of a vigorous campaign. Now the Lieutenant-General is on a tour of inspection, then he is closeted with the authorities at Washington, until the close of April, 1864, when all the preliminaries seemed to have been settled. Civilians and sutlers are ordered out of the lines, and no more passes are granted to applicants for admission. Meantime Lee was not idle. He busied himself in the erection of additional fortifications along the south bank of the Rapidan, in anticipation of the coming contest. But Grant was not disposed to wait on the development of Lee's plans.

He had well-digested plans of his own, which he prepared to put in execution, and until the early part of May, 1864, he labored incessantly, concentrating his valiant troops preliminary to the grand onward movement.

#### THE GRAND ADVANCE.

On the 3d of May, 1864, General Grant advanced from Culpepper Court House to the Rapidan, part of his army crossing at Ely's Ford, and part at Germania Ford. Lee was now in a position selected by himself, and on the night of the 4th was engaged in preparing for battle. The battle ground occupied by him was a broken table land, irregular in its conformation, and densely covered with dwarf timber and undergrowth. The rebels had taken their position near its edge, leaving an open country at the back of Grant's army. It was well known to Lee that Grant was strong in artillery, and he had selected this position on

account of the knolly character of the ground, in conjunction with this timber, to prevent him from using it.

After some delay with the corps, the standard of the army of the Potomac, was struck in the earth near the old Wilderness Tavern, and on Thursday the generals began to gather around it. The brave and calculating Meade, the hero of Gettysburg, was there with his gray beard, Hancock, Warren, Sedgwick, and many other generals, examining maps and consulting about the coming fight. At last Warren galloped off at the head of his column, a little to the left of the Wilderness Tavern, and in a short time his army was in line of battle, passing in the direction of Orange Court House, showing Griffin's division in line of battle far to the front. The contest soon grew from picket-firing to skirmishing, and from skirmishing to battle, and by twelve o'clock, meridian, the action had fairly commenced. From Warren's lines the battle spread to Sedgwick's early in the afternoon; this heroic officer fought the ground over, pressing the rebels back, inch by inch, until they long before night became sick of the sport, and the action dwindled into a skirmish. On the left, Hancock gave Longstreet a lesson in the art of war: here the conflict was terrific. As the evening came on the contest along the entire lines ceased, only an occasional shot being fired to show that the enemy was yet in his well chosen position. Grant was on the field during the day, and expressed himself well satisfied with the progress that had been made. In the evening he perfected his plans for renewing the battle the next morning.

Early Friday morning the contest was renewed along the entire line, but fiercest before Hancock's division. Lee had determined to force his lines, and sent Longstreet, backed with heavy reinforcements, to accomplish the object. Twice Hancock was driven back to his breastworks, and once the rebels had so far succeeded as to plant their colors on his field works, but the stay was short. The conflict was now terrific. Such fighting as Hancock did that day, for bravery, could never have been surpassed. Back and forth—first charged and then charging—until hundreds of the dead bodies of Union and rebel soldiers lay side by side in their last sleep.

At last, Burnside with the ninth corps, came to his relief, when he was allowed a breathing spell. Later in the day, Sedgwick's hour of trial came. In the forenoon they made a desperate effort to turn Grant's left, and now, in the afternoon, they revived the effort on the extreme right. A. P. Hill was commanding the enemy, and two of the Union brigades, on the extreme right, commanded by Seymour and Staler, were swallowed up by the impetuous charge of the yelling rebels. They almost caused a route in this part of the army, but Sedgwick, bold and ever brave, took advantage of the reflux, which always follows the first impetus of a charge, and formed the corps and drove the enemy beyond his breastworks and plucked safety, if not victory, out of danger.



The teamsters and straggling soldiers who had been watching this fearful conflict from a safe distance, just as night set in commenced a stampede. This wild scene lasted about one hour and a half, when it was checked by the iron hand of military law. The rebels still impetuous made a night attack on Warren's line ; this was a desperate resort of Lee. How differently he acted from Alexander the Great, when his veteran general, Parmenio, came and proposed a night attack on the Persians. "I scorn to filch a victory ; Alexander must conquer openly and fairly," was the reply of the great Macedonian.

Notwithstanding the 5th corps was thrown into confusion and driven back by the night assault, the rebel skirmishers came close up to Meade and Grant's headquarters. While this was going on every officer and private could see only defeat. But the great chieftain was commencing a flank movement. There was no Bœotian brigade as at Syracuse, to defeat and repel the night attack made by Demosthenes ; although Grant did not succeed like Gylippus, the Spartan general, in defeating and capturing the enemy, yet his flanking movement almost turned a defeat into a victory. His right had been turned and Germania Ford was in the hands of the enemy, and his loss in the battle could not have been less than 15,000 ; yet by daylight nearly all the trains had passed to the left of the right center, but no one could even guess the purport of the movement.

On Saturday Grant had possession of the road to within two and a half miles of Spottsylvania Court House, and a little after midnight the same day, his headquarters were at Todd's Tavern. Some skirmishing had gone on during this movement and another desperate conflict came off on Sabbath evening, General Wright's division taking the lead. Mill's brigade and the Jersey troops were once more in the thickest of the fight. Yet Spottsylvania Court House still remained that night in the hands of the rebels. On Monday General Sedgwick was inspecting the pickets in front, attended by two of his staff, when a ball from a rebel sharp-shooter struck him below the eye passing upwardly through the brain, killing him instantly.

On the same day a train of ambulances containing some thirteen thousand wounded, were attacked and turned back at Ely's Ford. They finally proceeded to Fredericksburg where every house was converted into a hospital. Hancock changed his position during Monday night, so as to be in line of battle one mile and a half in advance, driving the enemy before him. At ten o'clock Cutter's division of the Fifth corps advanced and formed in line of battle to the right and rear of Hancock's left. This division was within musket range of a piece of woods filled with rebels and maintained their position nearly the entire day, subject to terrible artillery and musketry fire of the enemy, which they returned with great

effect. A portion of Griffin's division were sent to drive the rebels out of the woods held by them on the right of the Fifth corps. They entered the woods by brigades which were relieved alternately, and for hours the deadly and determined fight continued. Batteries D and H of the First New York Artillery did fine execution from their position on the left of these woods. Cooper's First Pennsylvania Battery was held in reserve on the brow of a hill ready to cover any reverse our men who were fighting so desperately in the woods in front might sustain. At twelve o'clock General Rice, who was gallantly leading the Fourth division of the Fifth corps into action, was struck in the knee with a rebel musket ball was carried to the rear and died that afternoon. His division was constantly engaged during the day and for three hours without intermission, was subject to a murderous and galling fire from different directions of the enemy. From ten o'clock in the morning until night set in, the battle raged with fury. Division after division went into the woods and pressed steadily forward. No column returned except to take a rest at the edge of the woods while being relieved by others. The roar of artillery, the sharp rolling of musketry, and bursting of shells, was absolutely fearful. Two divisions of Hancock's corps changed positions early in the afternoon, and after a little rest went into the woods with great spirit engaging the enemy. Wright's corps during the morning was engaged in shelling the woods to the right which were filled with rebels. Early in the afternoon the rebels retired to a safer position. About dark the general headquarters was removed a mile nearer the front, affording General Grant and Meade a fine view of the operations of the enemy. About this time a line of rebel intrenchments was assaulted and carried, our men actually crawling over them on their hands and knees and precipitating themselves on the other side. Upton's brigade of the Sixth corps was attacked by a large body of confederates, some of whom got in their rear, but before this engagement was over two thousand of the rebels and several pieces of artillery were captured. During this days engagement Lee moved a large body of troops in front of Grant's center, for the purpose of breaking his lines and as a ruse sent two brigades of infantry to make a demonstration on the right. Grant was the last to be deceived and commenced to make his center doubly strong. When Lee began to assault the center he soon discovered that his feint on Grant's right did not have the desired effect. His new adversary had concentrated a superior force in the right place and at the right time. The only result of this movement of Lee, was to mass troops on both sides and when he made the assault, to his great surprise, he found Grant ready.

The fighting of this day was of an extraordinary character ; many thousands of men were killed and a large number of officers. The old veter-



ans of the Potomac army said it surpassed all engagements they had yet seen on the Peninsula. On Wednesday morning, May 11th, the battle was renewed at Spottsylvania, Grant's lines being somewhat advanced. At eleven o'clock A. M. Lee sent a flag asking a forty-eight hour truce that he might have time to bury his dead. Grant's reply was: "I have no time to bury my own dead but propose an immediate advance." With this reply he pushed forward, his advanced lines shelling the woods, but no response was met from where the enemy's center had been a few hours before. The rebel prisoners captured on Tuesday and Wednesday, numbered four thousand, and the dead and wounded covered almost every foot of the ground, when the Union troops surged forward and the rebels gave way. The slaughter on both sides was appalling but the rebels suffered the most. General Grant sent the following telegraph to Secretary Stanton:

HEADQUARTERS IN THE FIELD, May 11, 1864, 8 A. M.

"We have now ended the sixth day of very heavy fighting. The result, to this time, is much in our favor.

"Our losses have been heavy as well as those of the enemy. I think the loss of the enemy must be greater.

"We have taken over five thousand prisoners by battle, while he has taken from us but few, except stragglers.

"*I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.*"

U. S. GRANT.

"*Lieut.-General, Commanding the Armies of the United States.*"

General Grant must have felt certain that victory was within his grasp when he sent the above dispatch. He had now reached the key of the rebel position, for the same evening he ordered General Hancock to move during the night close up to the intrenchments, held by the rebel general Ewell's corps. Slowly and surely Hancock's men crept forward, and at dawn they were close upon the sleeping and unsuspecting enemy. At the proper moment the order to charge was given, and with a loud yell Hancock's men leaped over the rebel intrenchments and with the butts of their muskets (the quarters were too close to fire) commenced to slay the enemy right and left. They were surrounded, cornered, and dumbfounded, and when they were commanded to surrender they dropped their arms and became prisoners of war. Even the artillery had not time to limber up, get away, or fire one single volley. The general E. Johnston, whose headquarters was somewhat to the rear, had no time to escape. The result of this great movement was the capture of the commanding general with nearly his entire division as prisoners of war, and nearly twenty pieces of artillery. Hancock's entire corps had ad-

vanced during the morning, the rebels contesting every point with great determination, yet the gallant corps continued to advance, and before noon the entire line was engaged in a fierce and bloody strife. After seven days severe fighting, amid drenching rain, volleys of musketry, and roar of artillery, wearied but not disheartened, the gallant heroes pressed on driving the remaining part of the enemy back nearly four miles. Lee was thus forced to abandon his strong position on the Rapidan and fall back. He endeavored to stop the advance of the Union army, but he had now been forced to abandon his last entrenched position with a loss of eighteen guns, twenty colors, and eight thousand prisoners, including two general officers. Thus, the enemy sullenly and reluctantly was driven from the Rapidan. During the eight days and nights that the engagement lasted, many thousands went to their long home. The victory, though dearly bought, was gained, and Lee through this terrible conflict was made to realize the coming fate of the Southern Confederacy. During this eventful time General Sherman was making his famous flank movement which compelled Johnston to evacuate Dalton, Georgia, and General Butler was defeating the rebels on the south side of the James. Sheridan with his cavalry was destroying the railroad bridge over the Chickahominy river, fighting a battle at Yellow Tavern with the rebel general Stewart, and charging down the Brock Road actually capturing the first line of the enemy's works on that side of Richmond.

On the 13th of May, Burnside with the ninth corps lay across the pike leading from Spottsylvania Court House to Fredericksburg, about two miles from the former place; here he had a severe engagement with A. P. Hill. Although Burnside moved early to the attack, he found the rebels over a mile in front of their breastworks waiting his coming; the fight commenced and the rebels were soon pushed back into their first line of fortifications, and then forced to take refuge in their main line of entrenchments. Burnside renewed the attack in the afternoon, but a flanking brigade of rebels captured a portion of the Fifty-First Pennsylvania, One Hundred and Ninth New York, and the Seventeenth Michigan regiments. Burnside gained a better position than he had at the commencement of the fight, but with a loss of near 3,000 men. The roads were very bad, and it was difficult to move, and little was done until Lee weary and disheartened showed signs of attempting a retreat. On the 18th Grant renewed the attack; the assault was commenced early, but the rebels were not again to be found napping; by this move Grant soon discovered the enemy strongly posted behind breastworks. On the 19th Ewell's corps made an attempt to turn Grant's right, but was severely punished by Birney and Tyler's divisions. Grant had now received about 25,000 splendid fresh troops forwarded to him to make up



his losses during the terrific battles on the Rapidan. On the 20th of May he by the flanking process compelled Lee to abandon his strong works at Spottsylvania Court House, the rebels retreating towards Richmond; Grant's army in pursuit. Falling behind the North Anna river, Lee took up another strong position by marching the fifth and sixth corps by way of Harris's Store to Jerrico Ford; the sixth corps crossing, Lee was again flanked, and compelled to abandon his strong position on the North Anna, and fell back to the South Anna river. Here Lee's position was discovered to be one of great strength, and Grant deeming it only a waste of life to make an assault, recrossed the North Anna river, moving his army in the direction of Hanover Junction. Thus outgeneraling and flanking Lee's position on the South Anna, he forced him again to abandon his elaborately constructed fortifications. By these master strategic movements, it became evident to all the corps and division commanders in Grant's army that he had outmanœuvered Lee, and drove him from all his positions, using him merely as his mouthpiece, as he had previously used Bragg at Chattanooga. It could be seen by all that it was Grant and not Lee that was commanding the rebel army. General Sheridan with his cavalry had taken possession of the Hanover Ferry and all points designated for bringing the army over the Pamunkey river, and by the 29th Grant's entire force was across and encamped in a fertile country only fifteen miles from Richmond. By this great move he turned all Lee's works on the Little river and the South Anna, avoiding the hazard of crossing these strongly defended streams; by this strategy he became master of the situation with regard to his new base of supplies, and he was now left to choose his own rout to the rebel capital, and all this had been accomplished in twenty-four days from the day he struck tents at Culpepper Court House, without leaving, as previous commanders did, one fourth of his army behind for the defence of the capital,—he was now master of the peninsula without having uncovered Washington for a single hour.

It was the same strategy that made the march from Bruinsburg to Vicksburg one unbroken series of victories. In the march Grant cut himself loose from his base, but he always fixed a point to open a new one. Raymond was his first, Warrenton just below Vicksburg his second, and the Yazoo river just above the city was his final and last, until Vicksburg fell; this last, the Yazoo was hit upon by his far seeing vision at the commencement. Raymond and Warrenton were only calculated as auxiliaries to secure it. Just so he moved in his present campaign against Richmond. In his new base he could open communication with General Butler, and with the two armies, when occasion required; and he could now supply his troops from the Pamunkey or the James at his option.

Such mighty achievements can only be done by a master in the art of war, and as he made the month of May 1863, ever memorable by his strategy in his campaign of the Southwest; so his illustrious achievements in May 1864 on the Peninsula will be cherished and remembered as long as returning spring continues to deck the banks of the Rapidan, the Anna, the Pamunkey, and James with its fragrant flowers. The month of June opened with another fight with the rebels at Cold Harbor, on Friday about seven P.M. June 3d, the rebels made an attack on Smith's brigade of Gibson's division. Fighting around Cold Harbor continued for about three days. At last Grant commenced gradually drawing the lines around them, they fought desperately as usual; our entire loss killed wounded and missing during the three days engagements was 7,500 men. Grant was extending his lines to the Chickahominy, and the White House was now the base of supplies for his army. On the 12th of June he commenced his great flank movement from Lee's front at Cold Harbor and Gaine's Mills. Such a movement is the most dangerous in the art of war. McClellan in changing his base in 1862, was harrassed at every step, his army had occupied both sides of the Chickahominy, by doing this he made a weak and dangerous extension of his lines, the part on the north side of that river was driven on the 26th of June across to the south side of the stream. McClellan now commenced his retreat to Harrison's Landing, his army fighting by day and retreating by night, so when the army on the seventh day reached Harrison's Landing, fifteen thousand men who had been with him on the Chickahominy, were no longer in the ranks; the greater part were lying mangled and bleeding on the line of retreat, or sleeping their last sleep. But how different the ability displayed by Grant, who withdrew his entire army to the banks of the James, coming out at Wilcox's Warf, and crossing at Pawhatan Point; leaving Cold Harbor Sunday night, the troops were in position for crossing the James river in thirty hours, and in six hours more the entire army with scarcely the loss of a man was landed on the south side of the James river. On Wednesday General Smith commenced an attack on Petersburg; several efforts were made to carry the place by assault, but Grant was convinced that the Cockade City could only be captured by a protracted siege. General Wilson with six thousand picked troops was sent to destroy the Weldon and South Side railroads; the former was struck at Reams Station, and the later at Ford's Station, and some sixty miles of track, together with bridges, cars, and locomotives were destroyed. General Wright with the 6th corps coöperated with Wilson by moving on the Weldon road below Petersburg, and destroying about five miles of track. Lee becoming worried and disheartened, thought to divert Grant from his well settled purpose, sent Breckenridge on a raid against Washington; but Grant could not be induced to withdraw his



army from the James. Breckenridge went and made the feint, and was defeated, leaving 500 of his men killed and wounded under the guns of Fort Stephen.

The explosion of Burnside's mine under one of the largest rebel forts at Petersburg, blew up a South Carolina regiment, and wrecked the interior of the work. General Burnside in the assaulting of the works after the explosion, lost over two thousand men, killed, wounded, and missing. The rebel loss was about 1,200; this was all the important action that occurred before Petersburg during the balance of the summer of 1864. But the mighty chieftain was not idle, he had so distributed his army that his lieutenants were hammering away at the sea-ports of the rebellion at every point of the compass, having forced Lee from the Rapidan, and compelled him to coop himself up behind his Richmond defences. Sherman was also showing himself to be master of the rebel armies of the Southwest by the capture of Atlanta, September 2d.

### GEN. SHERIDAN'S GREAT VICTORY.

BATTLE OF CEDAR CREEK, VA., OCTOBER 19, 1864.

THIS able commander was sent to the Shenandoah Valley, to take command of the forces, in the latter part of September, and prevent the advance of the rebels into Pennsylvania and Maryland.

The Richmond authorities, fearing that Grant had sent him for the purpose of advancing on Richmond from that direction, sent a command to the rebel Gen. Early to drive Sheridan and his army out of the Valley.

The Union general had been at Washington, in consultation with the Secretary of War; and, with other commanders, stopped on his way back to his camp at Winchester. Early took advantage of the fog and absence of Sheridan, to make a desperate attack on the Union army. On the 19th of October, just before daylight the pickets were driven in, and the rebels, in hot pursuit, entered the Union camp at the same time. Such a large body of rebel infantry soon threw the left wing of Sheridan's army into confusion. The Fourteenth Pennsylvania, and a portion of the regular battery, fell into the hands of the rebels. The confusion almost reached a panic. Cook's corps was scarcely allowed time to form, but finally succeeded, and was soon joined by part of Thornburn's division. During all this time the rebels were pouring an incessant fire from both infantry and artillery. All this was done before daylight, and following up their success, they made a charge on the 19th corps, Emery's command, taking one or two guns of the First Maine battery and some of Chase's. The rebels had got the range and were using their artillery with great effect.

The gray dawn of an October morning was the first to reveal the desperate situation of the left wing of the Union army. When the rebels discov-

ered their advantage, they began to bring their artillery across Cedar Creek, and press hard up. The entire Union army was concentrating and slowly falling back. Gen. Sheridan, as we before stated, was at Winchester hearing the booming of cannon, while it was yet dark, in the direction of his army. He started at half-past seven o'clock, A. M., and in two hours arrived at the scene of action. On his way he met a great number of teams, stragglers, and wounded men, going to the rear. Such a sight would have discouraged most men, but nothing daunted he pushed on only to witness a worse condition of affairs than he had expected. The army was in confusion. It had no confidence in itself. But his presence inspired all with new hope. The change was like magic. He immediately reorganized his forces that he had just met on retreat, putting the cavalry on the right, the Nineteenth Corps next to it, the Eighth Corps in the centre, and the Sixth Corps with Powell's division on the left. Thus organized, a furious attack was made on the rebel army about one o'clock, P. M. For two hours the fight was desperate, but at three o'clock the rebels gave way. Sheridan was everywhere to be seen urging his men to press on after the retreating foe, which had become a rout. The rebels being chased through the streets of Middletown, and on to Mount Jackson, over 2,000 broke and ran down the mountain, throwing away arms, knapsacks and blankets, to aid in securing safety. The rebel loss was about 3,000 killed, 7,000 prisoners, many of them wounded, 55 cannon, a great number of small arms, ten battle flags, and over 300 wagons and ambulances. The Union officers suffered severely, in one of General Grover's brigades, every field officer being killed or disabled; in another only three were left. The Union loss in killed, wounded, and missing, was 4086. For this great victory, President Lincoln sent Gen. Sheridan the following letter:

“EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Oct. 22, 1864.

“MAJOR-GENERAL SHERIDAN—With great pleasure I tender to you and your brave army the thanks of the nation, and my own personal admiration and gratitude for the month's operations in the Shenandoah Valley, and especially for the splendid work of October 19.

Your obedient servant,

“ABRAHAM LINCOLN.”

General Grant, never having any faith in the anaconda strategy, always believed that the rebellion was more like an empty egg-shell, and could be penetrated almost as easy, agreed and arranged with General Sherman to make his great expedition through the heart of the confederacy, which has crowned that great soldier's name with immortality.

Grant had now got Lee in a position that he could spare no troops



from Virginia. It was even doubtful, whether he could long protect the rebel capital,—Sherman at Savannah, Hood's army captured, and Gen. Price driven out of Missouri, Early used up by Sheridan in the Shenandoah, Breckinridge checkmated in East Tennessee, Canby operating effectually in Louisiana, and preparing to capture Mobile, and Grant at Richmond holding Lee in a vice from which there was no escape,—these were the darkest days the rebellion had yet seen. It was well understood the flower of its youth and the days of its manhood were passed. Its greatest efforts, all its heroic achievements were forever gone, unanimated and dying, its huge form lay stretched from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, unable to give one more cheer, or do another defiant deed.

The year 1865 opened with cheering prospects for the Union cause. Sherman, with his invincible army, had left Georgia on his northward march. The principal nests of treason, Columbia and Charleston, were captured, and all the rebel strongholds embraced in the mighty combinations on the seaboard and interior of Georgia, South Carolina, including Fort Fisher and Wilmington, in North Carolina, (the latter had long been the rebel inlet to British pirates, British arms, British ammunition, British goods, and British treachery,) all these had been captured and were now being held by the grand divisions of the Union army. The Great Campaign commenced in March. Canby aided by the fleet, was battering away at Mobile; Gen. Wilson, with ten thousand picked cavalry, started from Eastport on an expedition through Alabama; Sherman and Schofield, with their victorious hosts, approaching the Virginia State line. Johnston, whom the rebel press had boasted, was sent to annihilate the insolent foe, failed to impede or check their victorious march there.

The rebel chief at Richmond saw all this, but he was appalled, and helpless and could only watch and wait. The rebel affairs every day became more critical. The rebel commander yet had an army of 50,000 tried men filling, and being protected by, the strong and numerous fortifications surrounding the doomed capital. Strategy was now beyond Lee's reach, and his last hope was that Grant would attempt an assault upon these works. But as he had never before done what Lee desired or expected, he had little ground to expect it now.

Grant had time to watch, but Lee could not afford to wait; his only hope was in prompt and immediate action. Thus at half-past four, A. M., March 25th, 1865, Lee sent Gordon, at the head of three rebel divisions, to attack Fort Steadman, on the right of Grant's line. He soon overpowered the garrison and seized the fort, but the success was but temporary, for at the dawn of day Gen. Hartranft charged and re-captured it, killing and wounding over 3,000 rebels, and taking 2,700 prisoners. The reason of the great slaughter and our trifling loss, was our guns at the different forts were trained on the ground over which the rebels had to

pass to re-gain their own line ; when they all opened fire, the slaughter was terrific. The capture of Gordon's men gave Grant a full key to the mystery, and he ordered an immediate advance upon the extreme left of Hatcher's run, which point Lee had weakened by the withdrawal of Gordon's forces. Several strong positions were taken by the advance, and Grant's lines were extended to near the South Side railroad. The Union loss was 690 ; the rebel loss, killed, wounded and captured were about 1600. The Second Corps also pushed forward and captured Fort Fisher and the entrenched picket line on the 29th. The Second Corps left their entrenchments near Hatcher's Run, and advanced out along the Vaughn Road. The Fifth Corps, which had been stationed in the rear of the Second, at three and a half o'clock, A. M., started, going over by-roads across the country, so as to reach the Vaughn Road at a point beyond where the Second Corps was to march. Up to this time, Gen. Ayer's division taking the lead, one brigade under Gen. Gwin was posted at Scott's House to cover the Vaughn Road, while the remainder of the division was held in reserve. Griffin's division was then placed in advance. The column now left the Vaughn Road, at a point distant about four miles from Dinwiddie Court House, and advanced up the Quaker Road in the direction of Boydton Plank Road, some three miles distant. A short distance from here the troops found a line of abandoned rebel breastworks, from which their pickets had just retired. Skirmishers were now thrown forward, and sharp firing commenced ; the skirmishers crossing an open plateau, the further side of which Bushrod Johnson's rebel divisions were posted. The first brigade of Griffin's division was now ordered forward to support the skirmishers, and when within rifle-shot of the woods, a tremendous volley of musketry greeted their advance, causing them to waver and fall back. The second brigade now came up to the support of the first, which caused the latter to rally and stand firm. In the meantime, battery B, of the First United States, was got into position and commenced firing with effect. While the fight was in progress, Gen. Warren was engaged in forming his line of battle on the right and left of the Quaker Road. The enemy seeing that a large force was being moved against them, retired to a point further back. Sheridan was on the extreme left at Dinwiddie Court House ; Meade's headquarters were on the Vaughn Road, three miles beyond Hatcher's Run, and Gen. Grant's about a mile further out.

March 31. t, in the morning, the rebels commenced an attack on Grant's left, near Dabney's House, and pressed it back towards Boydton Plank Road ; here their advance was checked, and the Union troops recovering the lost ground, and driving the enemy, took possession of the White Oak Road, capturing four battle flags.

April 1st, Gen. Sheridan fought the battle of Five Forks, doubling up



the right wing of the rebel army on the centre, and cutting a portion of it off. His triumph over Early, in the Shenandoah, was great ; and his victory secured over Longstreet this day, was both great and glorious ; with Carter, Devons, and Davis of the cavalry corps, and Griffin, Ayers, Crawford and Bartlett of the Fifth Corps, he succeeded in dividing the rebel army under Lee, and capturing 5700 prisoners, and three batteries of rebel artillery. Longstreet, after his inglorious defeat, fled first north, then westward, hoping to effect a junction with Johnston in North Carolina. Lee's line extended from Burgess' Mill to the Appomattox. Grant believed it weak everywhere thus extended, but if massed at any one point might yet be formidable. Cannonading was kept up during all Saturday night, and he had determined to assault the line that had remained defiant so long. It was known that Longstreet was not even making an effort to return to Petersburg. Grant's ever powerful strategic mind conceived the plan of making an assault with the Ninth Corps immediately in front of Petersburg, in order to induce Lee to mass his force at that important point for defence. He had already placed the Sixth, Twenty-fourth, and Second Corps, secretly in front of Lee's right. Some thought that he intended a raid on to Burksville, others to the South Side road, but no person except Meade and the corps commanders ever dreamed that he had matured all his plans to cut in two and annihilate the rebel army, and capture Petersburg and Richmond. Yet it was all true, and a few hours only were needed to bring it to pass. The star of American glory was about to be unveiled ; a mightier achievement was than history had yet recorded about to take place. The hearts of millions of the human race, unconsciously of the coming hour, were to beat with gladness ; the strife would soon be over ; our last great victory soon be won.

SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 2D.

Holy day, commemorative of the Resurrection—momentous time ! It was on the 13th of Nisan (April 2d,) eighteen hundred and thirty-two years ago, the Saviour, sorrowful and sad, exposed and struggled against the treason of one of his followers. The mighty Ruler of events has, in his own wisdom, coupled the treachery of Judas with our slave-holders' treason, there to moulder and blacken on the desert of Time, a monument reared to commemorate the foulest crimes in human history. As he has left them, we leave them, so mankind in future ages can see and remember them together.

Sunday, April 2d, at four o'clock, A. M., the time for action had now come. General Parke, in front of Petersburg, was pressing close up to the town. His divisions were, Wilcox on the right resting on the Appomattox ; Hartranft in the centre ; Potter, with the second division, was

on the left, joining Wheaton of the Sixth Corps. The plan was for Wilcox to make a feint upon the rebel front on the Appomattox. It was promptly and vigorously made, the men creeping up to within a few feet of the rebel fort. At the word of command, the gallant First division sprang to its feet, and, with a yell, rushed on the work. At a quarter past four o'clock they were in the fort, having captured the garrison of fifty men and four guns. This was the feint of Wilcox. Hartranft and Potter advanced about the same time, and in the same manner, stealing up under cover of darkness, they, without firing a gun, sprang forward, capturing four forts, twenty-seven guns, and hundreds of prisoners. Thus at daylight Parke, without loss, had gained possession of the rebel line in his front. The Sixth Corps had simultaneously begun their work. Wheaton on the right, Seymour in the centre, and Getty on the left, joining at Fort Sampson the new line of the Twenty-fourth Corps, with Foster's Division on the right. Wright's Corps had to sustain a volley in their advance, but they carried the rebel line, and not five minutes elapsed from the time Wright gave the signal to storm, before Gen. Seymour, Wheaton, and Getty were over the line and in possession of all the rebel guns. All the regiments did their duty. In the first charge Wheaton took twelve pieces of artillery, and nearly the entire Mississippi Brigade of Heth's Division; thus, by five o'clock, the rebels were driven from all their outer works on the south and west of Petersburg. At seven o'clock, the Second and Twenty-fourth Corps began the work assigned them. Turner and Foster, of the Twenty-fourth Corps, made the assault and carried the rifle lines with little loss, while the Second Corps advanced immediately on the opposite side of Hatcher's Run. The advance of these corps was a gradual ascent all the way. Colonel Olmstead and Colonel McIvor, of the first and second brigades, rushed into the two forts before them, capturing five guns and a large number of prisoners, with the loss of only ten men. The Nineteenth Massachusetts and the Seventh Michigan, the far East and far West, join hands this Sunday morning in the "last ditch" of the rebellion. Other forts were taken by New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey troops. Thus by eight o'clock the entire rebel line, from the Appomattox to Burgess' Mill, had everywhere been broken, and the Sixth Corps had swung round and was facing Petersburg from the west. The Twenty-fourth Corps was marching from Hatcher's Run east inside the rebel line, and the Second Corps in the same direction on the Boydton Road. Every soldier looked as if he understood the mighty events taking place. The smile of triumph was on every lip, the sparkle of joy in every eye.

General Grant having left his headquarters at Dabney Mills to overlook the work yet to be done, came riding along the lines on a trot, cheer upon cheer everywhere saluted him, and nothing ever equaled the



enthusiasm. The military genius of Napoleon, in his Italian campaigns, was now growing dim. Few things in the annals of war can compete with the manifestations of military genius that were this day taking place.

The three outer lines of fortifications, which consisted of isolated forts, had all been carried ; but the fourth, and last, was one of great strength, and looked frowningly down from the slight range of hills upon which it was located. At nine o'clock, Wheaton still on the right, Seymour having swung to the left, tearing up the South Side railroad, Getty in the centre, each hour was eclipsing the other in scenes of indescribable grandeur. The corps were all forming in short range of the rebel works as leisurely as if on dress parade. The Sixth Corps advanced at double-quick, never stopping to fire, with a wild yell of delight, over they went, turning the heavy guns and sending the iron hail after the flying foe. Victory was now traveling with the Second Corps, for Miles, Mott, Smyth and Humphrey were there. The Sixth Corps was also at work. A large number of houses were now in flames, the columns of smoke rising from them in heavy clouds, shrouding the scenes for the moment, but soon lifted by the wind, with it floated off to the northeast.

Grant had now laid out a programme. Meade, Wright, and Gibbons' commands were appointed to execute it. The forts selected, at the sound of the bugle, were soon taken, the rebels making but a feeble resistance. The star spangled banner could now be seen floating above nearly all the heretofore strong rebel works. The Union army began to be assured of the magnitude of its triumphs ; deeds of daring, and heroism, were everywhere being displayed ; to mention the names of some would be doing injustice to all—it was an army of heroes.

The Second and Fifth Corps were sent to a point to intercept the anticipated retreat of Lee ; this somewhat weakened our force and the rebels made a more vigorous stand against the Ninth Corps. Lee was there superintending, and for a time advantage seemed on the rebel side. Our line stood firm, fighting like heroes, and finally, after superhuman effort, the rebels were driven back. We lost one fort. Reinforcements of 5000 men had been ordered from City Point to supply, as far as possible, the deficiency created by the withdrawal of the Second and Fifth Corps, which had been sent to a point to cut off Lee's retreat. At 11 o'clock Meade, Wright, and Gibbon were still at work. The Sixth Corps was now shifting to the right in plain view and easy range of Lee's interior line. At this hour all was still, not a gun or a shout was heard, not a horse neighed, not a drum or bugle sounded ; the field was still as death.

Suddenly a gun on one of the rebel forts to the left belched forth a dull report, then another and another ; the rebel chief struggling like a child in the hand of a giant. At twelve o'clock it was discovered that Lee was retreating across the Appomattox on three separate pontoons.

Just above the city huge fires were already raging in the town; the rebels had applied the torch to accelerate their own ruin. At two o'clock, the Sixth and Twenty-fourth Corps, at the sound of the bugle, commenced to assault some of the remaining forts still making a show of resistance in that part of the field. They were soon carried, and the starry flag hoisted over them; at the same time the rebel fort that had been taken from us was again recaptured. Gen. Collins, from City Point, headed the charge; the rebels poured in a terrible fire, but after a severe struggle the fort was captured, and at half past three o'clock the "last ditch" of the rebellion was reached. Our prisoners were now like the sands on the sea shore, and the marines and sailors from Porter's fleet were brought to guard them.

The rebel rams, Virginia and Rappahannock, which were lying on the James, some distance from Howlett House, were blown up about midnight on the second, shaking the earth like a volcano. The grandest scenes of history were now taking place on the works around Richmond. The rebels were engaged in making a great show through the day, and all their engineering was brought into play to continue the deception up to twelve o'clock at night. Gen. Weitzel suspected the object of the grand display, and when he saw the lurid light hanging over the rebel Capital it told him that the hour had almost come.

Gen. Weitzel immediately started, and entered Richmond at 8:15, on the morning of the 3d of April, 1865. Thus the great Capital of treason and rebellion, which had defied the Union army for four years, fell. Richmond and Petersburg were now captured, hundreds of guns and thousands of prisoners taken, Lee's army demoralized, shattered, broken, and driven to the four winds. This is the history of the day. How can it be told? what pen can write it? or who comprehend the magnitude of the issues decided by this mighty event? Two hundred and forty-five years ago, on this very spot, our traffic in human flesh began. During this long period the earnest prayers and agonizing groans of an outraged people had been ascending to the throne of God. They have not been in vain. Let it forever be remembered that Washington gave us a country, but this day's victory made it free.

Gen. Grant, having defeated Lee in the great battle of the 2d, was determined that he should not have an opportunity again to recruit his shattered army. Lee's retreat exhibited every sign of a rout, the path strewn with wagons, ambulances, dead and wounded horses and mules, caissons, boxes of ammunition thrown out to lighten the load, mess utensils, arms, accoutrements, blankets, clothing, loose cartridges, and similar wrecks. Lee crossed the Mamozine Creek, destroying the bridge, then on to Mamozine Church, then across the Appomattox on to Amelia Court House, forty-seven miles southwest of Richmond. Gen. Grant was



with Gen. Ord's column of the army of the James. On the night of the 5th the Union army lay in line of battle, stretching across three or four miles of country. The engagements that took place at Jettersville and Deatonsville, and Sheridan's cavalry now at Plainville intercepting him on his way to Lynchburg, left nothing for Lee but surrender. Grant, on the 7th, sent him a communication that further resistance would only be a waste of human life to no purpose, and requested him to save the further useless effusion of blood by a timely surrender.

#### THE TERMS AND SURRENDER.

APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, April 9, 1865.

GENERAL R. E. LEE, *Commanding C. S. A.* :

In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the eighth instant. I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, on the following terms, to wit :

Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, the other to be retained by such officers as you may designate.

The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands.

The arms, artillery and public property to be packed and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage.

This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.

Very respectfully,

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*

#### SURRENDER.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, April 9, 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, *Commanding U. S. A.*

GENERAL : I have received your letter of this date, containing the terms of surrender of the army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you ; as they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the eighth instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, *General.*

## LEE'S ENTIRE LOSS.

In the battles around Petersburg and in the pursuit, Lee lost over ten thousand men killed and wounded, and twenty thousand men in prisoners and deserters, including those taken in battle, and those picked up in pursuit; embracing all arms of the service—teamsters, hospital force, and everything—from sixteen to eighteen thousand men were surrendered by Lee. As only fifteen thousand muskets and about thirty pieces of artillery were surrendered, the available fighting force could hardly have exceeded fifteen or twenty thousand men. Our total captures of artillery during the battles and pursuit, and at the surrender, amounted to about one hundred and seventy guns. Three or four hundred wagons were handed over.

In the terms of surrender, the officers gave their own paroles, and each officer gave his parole for the men within his command. The following is the form of the personal parole of officers, copied from the original document given by Lee and a portion of his staff:

“ We, the undersigned prisoners of war belonging to the army of Northern Virginia, having been this day surrendered by General R. E. Lee, commanding said army, to Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding the armies of the United States, do hereby give our solemn parole of honor that we will not hereafter serve in the armies of the Confederate States, or in any military capacity whatever, against the United States of America, or render aid to the enemies of the latter until properly exchanged in such manner as shall be mutually approved by the respective authorities.

“ R. E. LEE, *General*.

“ W. H. TAYLOR, *Lieutenant-Colonel and A. A. G.*

“ CHAS. S. VENABLE, *Lieutenant-Colonel and A. A. G.*

“ CHAS. MARSHALL, *Lieutenant-Colonel and A. A. G.*

“ H. E. PRATON, *Lieutenant-Colonel and Ins.-General*.

“ GILES BROOKE, *Major and A. A. Surgeon-General*.

“ H. S. YOUNG, *A. A. General*.

“ Done at Appomattox Court House, Va., this ninth (9th) day of April, 1865.”

The parole is the same given by all officers, and is countersigned as follows :

“ The above-named officers will not be disturbed by United States authorities as long as they observe their parole, and the laws in force where they reside.

“ GEORGE H. SHARPE, *General Assist. Provost-Marshal*.”



The obligation of officers for the subdivisions under their command is in form as follows :

“ I, the undersigned, commanding officer of —, do, for the within-named prisoners of war, belonging to the army of Northern Virginia, who have been this day surrendered by General Robert E. Lee, Confederate States Army, commanding said army, to Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding the armies of the United States, hereby give my solemn parole of honor that the within-named shall not hereafter serve in the armies of the Confederate States of America, or in military or any capacity whatever against the United States of America, or render aid to the enemies of the latter, until properly exchanged in such manner as shall be mutually approved by the respective authorities.

“The within-named will not be disturbed by the United States authorities so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.”

The surrender of Lee was followed by the voluntary surrender of most of the regular troops of the enemy in the Shenandoah.

THE REBEL FORCES IN ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI, AND EAST LOUISIANA, SURRENDER  
TO GENERAL CANBY.

On the 4th of May, 1865, General Richard Taylor, commanding the rebel forces in Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana, surrendered to Major-General Canby, and this closed up our account with the rebels east of the Mississippi river.

GENERAL SHERIDAN GOES TO NEW ORLEANS.—SURRENDER OF KIRBY SMITH.

Beyond the Mississippi, Kirby Smith showed a determination to hold out and prolong the war. General Grant resolved to use efficient measures to bring him also to terms, and a powerful expedition was fitted out at Fortress Monroe, and Major-General Philip Sheridan was assigned to its command. The General proceeded forthwith by way of the Mississippi river to New Orleans ;—before reaching that point, Smith had heard of the surrender of Lee, Johnston, and Taylor, and he too accepted the terms granted to Lee, and surrendered the forces under his command.

Thus all the armies of the rebellion were captured, conquered and subdued, and the arch traitor Davis captured while endeavoring to escape. All honor to General Grant, the galant officers and brave men under his command ; they have fought the good fight, and their victory is won.

# ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

## HIS ANCESTORS, HIS BIRTH, HIS LIFE, AND ASSASSINATION.

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THE ancestors of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, like those of General Sherman, came from England. Many of the Israelites think his name Abraham peculiarly significant of a distant Jewish origin, while our friends, the Quakers, claim they have strong evidence that they emigrated to this country with the founder of Pennsylvania and entertained a similar religious belief. Raymond, in his *Life of Lincoln* remarks, "It is difficult to trace them farther back than to their place of residence in Berks county, Pennsylvania. As the territory had previously been settled only by the Swedes and Finns, there is a strong probability that Lincoln's ancestors came to this country with the colony of Friends sent out by William Penn at the close of the year 1681. This we know to be tradition and have no doubt of its truth. In 1750 a part of the family (it had then been living and multiplying in that region for near seventy years) removed to what is now known as Rockingham County, Virginia, where old Abraham Lincoln was born. We have been unable to learn his father's name. Abraham here married a Virginia woman. About three years after they were married, and when their son, Thomas Lincoln, was two years old, they concluded to change their location and go a little further west. Thus in 1780, the grandfather of our late President left Virginia, and with his family settled on Floyd's Creek, in the region now known as Bullitt County, Kentucky. Erecting a log cabin to protect his little family from the wet and cold, he soon began to gather around him the rude and indispensable necessities of frontier life. He was perfectly satisfied and his wife contented in this their new and distant home. But in 1784 he was engaged in clearing a piece of land about four miles distant from his house, procuring subsistence for his family, consisting now of his wife and five children, three sons and two daughters.

While thus engaged in honest toil the strife with the Indians began, and he was destined to be a victim. He was murdered by an Indian while at work in the clearing above mentioned, and his scalped remains



found the next morning near where he had been working. His widow was now left with a large family in a lonely wilderness and with but scanty means to support them. Poverty soon made it necessary that the little group should part. All except the second son, found homes in other sections of Kentucky; he secured a place in Indiana. Thomas, who was the oldest, being a little over six years, remained with his mother until he was twelve; he then left for a short time, but soon afterwards returned and continued to live with and support her until he was twenty-eight years of age. This carries us to the year 1806, when Thomas Lincoln concluded to take to himself a wife. Like his father, he chose a Virginia woman for a companion. He was married to Miss Nancy Hanks in the latter part of the winter of 1806, and their first child was born (a girl) in the month of March, 1807. They were a plain, and unassuming couple. He had received no education, and she could read but could not write. They were persons of strong natural abilities, exemplary in their private life, both being members of the Baptist Church. Soon after they were married they removed and settled near Elizabethtown, Hardin county, Kentucky, and there, February 12th, 1809, Abraham Lincoln, the illustrious personage and subject of this narrative was born. Two years afterwards another son was born, but he died in infancy. The daughter, the oldest of the family lived to years of womanhood, married, but subsequently died without issue. This, we believe, is all that is yet authentically known about the ancestors of this illustrious man. The Hon. Robert Dale Owen, we understand, is engaged in getting together a very complete and elaborate history of Mr. Lincoln. Perhaps he may be able to throw some light on the period between 1681 and 1750.

We ourselves shall wait with great anxiety to receive what new light his extensive research and eloquent pen can give on this important and interesting subject. At seven years old, "Little Abe" (as he was familiarly called) was sent to school. His father determined as far as possible to give him an education. A Mr. Hazel who kept a school, and Zachariah Riney, a Roman Catholic, were the persons that first gave him the rudiments of instruction. Riney was some way connected with a Catholic Institute that the Trappists had founded on Pottinger's Creek. Becoming annoyed at the obstructions slavery was placing in the way of industry and enterprise, Thomas Lincoln concluded to leave Kentucky, and settle in free territory. Thus, in 1817, he traded his home in Hardin county for about three hundred dollars worth of merchandize, and built a flat-boat on the Rolling Fork River, placed all his earthly valuables on board, including his family, and floated out into the Ohio and made for Thompson's Ferry, opposite Spencer county, Indiana, the county and region he had previously selected for his new and future home. He had

with him three horses and one cow, and it took him seven days to get their scanty household goods eighteen miles back from the river bank, having to cut his way through the woods, some days only advancing three miles. When they arrived at the spot, with the kind assistance of a few neighbors, Thomas Lincoln soon erected a nice log house eighteen feet square, with some slabs laid across the logs overhead, forming an upstairs which was got to by a rough ladder in the corner. The loft was Abe's bedroom and there for years he contentedly slept with one coarse blanket for his mattress and another for his covering. What a future was before this innocent youth as he sweetly slept in his rude but happy home. If he had been told he could not have comprehended it, and the unbelieving would not have believed it. Dressed in a suit of buckskin and a cap made from a raccoon skin he, became the favorite with the settlers, and his parents were devotedly fond of him. He had now when nine years old become remarkably fond of books, reading a few chapters in the Bible daily for the edification of his mother, but she could not have imagined in her wildest dreams the future eminence of her beloved son. But while engaged in moulding the future character of her little boy, the faithful mother died. This sad bereavement occurred when Abe was about ten years old. Ministers of the gospel were seldom to be met in this wild region, and it was not until twelve months after her death that Parson Elkins was induced by a kind and touching letter from her little son to come and preach her funeral sermon. In his sermon the Parson frequently alluded to the touching eloquence of the letter he received, which afterwards served to bring Abraham's pen into frequent employment in writing letters for the neighbors. Two years after Mrs. Lincoln's death, Mr. Lincoln married Mrs. Sally Johnston, a widow with three children, who resided at Elizabethtown, Kentucky. Fortunately she was admirably adapted to fill the vacancy in Mr. Lincoln's family, and a superior woman between whom and Abe a most devoted attachment sprung up, and continued during the twelve years that Thomas Lincoln resided in Indiana. He continued to send Abraham to school. A Mr. Dorsey, who a few months ago, was still living in Schuyler County, Illinois, and a Mr. Crawford were the teachers. Ramsay and Weem's Life of Washington were among the first, then came Life of Henry Clay, Æsop's Fables, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress; all these he eagerly perused, and we have no doubt the latter work served to perfect him in a great measure, in that style which was in after years so peculiar to his pen. After he left school, until he was eighteen years old, he labored in the woods cutting down trees, clearing the ground, and splitting rails. Abraham had now lived to be nineteen years old. A New Orleans trader resided near by, and his son in the spring of 1828 was about to make a trip on a flatboat with a valuable cargo down the Mississippi to the Cres-



cent City. Abraham hired for the trip at ten dollars a month. On their way down, a band of robbers, great numbers of whom infested that stream in those early times, attempted to seize the boat with all its valuable cargo, but after a spirited contest with the boat's crew, were repulsed and driven back. The Trader and Abraham returned from their trip to New Orleans in the summer. His father, Thomas Lincoln, had inherited that peculiar distaste that all frontiersmen have against the advancing tide of civilization, and he concluded to seek a new home ; with him, like all other backwoodsmen,

The heaven of eternal earthly rest,  
Is always found a little further west.

In March, 1830, Thomas Lincoln moved his family to Illinois. After fifteen days travel with oxen, (Abraham driving one team) he came to a site of (ten acres) on the north side of the Sangamon river, ten miles west of Decatur, Macon county. The father and Abraham soon erected a log cabin, and the latter split sufficient rails to fence their new farm. The father soon became tired of his home in Macon county, and resolved to move to Coles county, about seventy miles distant away. Abraham objected to his father again moving, and in the spring signified his intention of leaving home and seeking his fortune among strangers. The tidings were received by his parents and friends with the most profound sorrow. But he went westward to Menard county and worked on a farm for Mr. Armstrong in the vicinity of Petersburg, during the ensuing summer and winter. This prevented his father from moving to Coles county and he settled down on the upper waters of the Kaskaskia and Embarras, where he died in his seventy-third year, January 17th, 1851.

In 1831, Abraham again made a trip to New Orleans in the capacity of a flatboatman, returning that summer. His employer was so pleased with him he gave him a clerkship in his mill and store at New Salem, about twenty miles from Springfield. He was a most dutiful son, devoting the principal part of his earnings to keep his father's family, who were then very poor. In 1832, Black Hawk was concentrating a large Indian force on the Illinois river. Major Stillman, with his famous two hundred and seventy men, had previously been defeated by him, on the 14th of May at Sangamon Creek, Black Hawk at the time having only forty warriors engaged in the fight. The Governor of Illinois was now calling for troops to punish the Indians, and a recruiting office being opened at New Salem, Abraham Lincoln was the first to put down his name. The company was soon organized, and the men unanimously chose him for their captain. They marched to Beardstown, and from there to the seat of war. The term of enlistment being out, without hesitation he re-enlisted in another company as a private, where he continued until its term of

enlistment had also expired. Like most Kentuckians he was an admirer and supporter of Henry Clay, and after his return from the war was chosen by the Whig party, in New Salem, as a candidate for the legislature of Illinois. He was defeated; but out of the 284 votes cast in the town of New Salem, he received 177. This was the first and last time he was ever beaten before the people. This contest over (although not elected, his opponent only led him a few votes) he purchased a store and stock of goods on credit, and was appointed Postmaster at New Salem; but store-keeping was to him unprofitable, and he sold out, and for a year was engaged in surveying. John Calhoun, afterwards president of the former Lecompton Constitutional Convention of Kansas, being his tutor, he still continued to act as postmaster of the town. Reverses came upon him, and his surveying implements were seized for debt and sold by the sheriff of the county. In 1834 he was again nominated for the legislature and was elected by a very large majority. In 1836, 1838, and 1840, was re-elected to the same office. During his first term in the legislature he conceived the idea of studying law, and through the aid of Hon. John T. Stuart, who placed in his possession the necessary books; and he was admitted to the bar in 1836; and on April 15th, 1837, he settled permanently in Springfield, Sangamon county, where he entered into partnership with John T. Stuart. Many thrilling incidents occurred with him during his legal profession. The Mr. Armstrong whom he had worked for in Menard county, after he first left his father's house, had died, and his oldest son had been arrested for murder and was confined in the jail of that county awaiting trial. As soon as Mr. Lincoln heard of this sad occurrence, he sent a letter to Mrs. Armstrong, offering to return her kindness to him during the time he lived in her family, by volunteering his services gratuitously for her son's defence. They were gladly accepted, and by a discrepancy in the testimony of the main witness against the boy, who swore that the deed was committed at precisely half past nine o'clock, and that he saw it plain, for the moon was shining clearly. Mr. Lincoln showed, after reviewing all the other evidence, that the moon did not rise until an hour later than the time stated by the witness, therefore the whole testimony was a base fabrication; the jury so viewed it, and returned a verdict of not guilty. At this moment the widow dropped into the arms of her son who lifted her up, and told her to look on him as before, free and innocent. Then with the words, "Where is Mr. Lincoln?" he rushed across the room and grasped him by the hand, while his heart was too full for utterance. Lincoln turned his eyes to the west where the sun still lingered in view, and then, turning to the youth, said, "It is not yet sundown and you are free." Mr. Lincoln loved his fellowmen with all the strength of his good nature, and his voice touching, and always cheerful made his presence a source of joy to the company.



In March, 1837, on account of a series of resolutions being offered by some one sustaining the ultra southern view of slavery in the Illinois Legislature, Mr. Lincoln offered a protest against slavery, signed by Daniel Stone and himself, Representatives of Sangamon county, Illinois. For many years Mr. Lincoln lived a bachelor in the family of Hon. William Butler in Springfield. On November 4th, 1842, he married Miss Mary Todd, daughter of Hon. Robert S. Todd of Lexington, Kentucky. In every campaign from 1836 to 1852, Mr. Lincoln was a Whig candidate for Presidential Elector, and in 1844 stumped the state of Illinois for Henry Clay. In 1846, he was elected to Congress from the central district of Illinois. That state sent seven representatives that year, and all were Democrats except Mr. Lincoln. On the question of the Mexican War he never could be induced to give his vote in Congress that the war had been righteously begun, but he voted for every act brought forward to procure money to pay, or give land warrants to the soldiers. His votes in Congress were uniformly given against the institution of slavery, and he voted more than forty different times in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. In 1849 Mr. Lincoln was a candidate before the Legislature of Illinois for U. S. Senator; but his political opponents being in the majority, General Shields was chosen. He was subsequently offered the nomination for Governor of Illinois, but declined it in favor of Mr. Bissell. In June, 1858, the Republican Convention assembled at Springfield, and nominated him as their candidate for the United States Senate.

The contest that followed was the most remarkable ever witnessed in the country. Mr. Douglas, his opponent, had few, if any, superiors as a political debater. From county to county they both traveled, often in the same car, and face to face. These great champions argued the important points before thousands of their fellow citizens.

During the campaign, Mr. Lincoln paid the following tribute to the Declaration of Independence:

“These communities, (the thirteen colonies,) by their representatives in old Independence Hall, said to the world of men, ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are born equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’ This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty, and wise, and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to his creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to all his creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the Divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on, and degraded, and imbruted by its fellows. They grasped not only the race of men then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the furthest posterity. They created a beacon to guide their children and their chil-

dren's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths that when, in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men, were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth, and justice, and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.

“Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur, and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are not created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty, let me entreat you to come back—return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution. Think nothing of me, take no thought for the political fate of any man whomsoever, but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence.

“You may do anything with me you choose, if you will but heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I *do claim* to be actuated in this contest by something higher than an anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every paltry and insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing; I am nothing; Judge Douglas is nothing. But do not destroy that immortal emblem of humanity—the Declaration of American Independence.”

The result of this animated campaign was a vote of 126,084 for the Republican candidates, 121,940 for the Douglas Democrats, and 5,091 for Lecompton candidates, but Mr. Douglas was elected United States Senator by the Legislature in which his supporters had a majority of eight on joint ballot. But Mr. Lincoln's friends were no way disheartened, and determined to make him their next Presidential candidate; and at the Republican Convention, held at Chicago, in May, 1860, Abraham Lincoln for President, and Hannibal Hamlin for Vice President, became the nominees; suffice it to say, this ticket was elected. The trials and troubles of his first term we have given in another part of this book.

You can not fail to have noticed the solemn and sometimes almost mournful strain that pervades many of his addresses. When he left



Springfield in 1861 to assume the Presidency, his farewell words were as follows :

“ My FRIENDS :—No one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century ; here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I can not succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support ; and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I can not succeed, but with which success is certain. Again, I bid you all an affectionate farewell.”

He was re-nominated by the same party June 7th, at Baltimore, Maryland, for a second term, with Andrew Johnson for Vice President. A complete account of the campaign of 1864, and Mr. Lincoln's triumphant re-election, can be found in another part of this book.

#### ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Sadly and sorrowfully do we commence this melancholy story. We had published a full and complete account of the Assassination of Presidents Harrison and Taylor, with facts about the National Hotel poisoning, wherein the South endeavored to get rid of Buchanan so as to have Breckenridge for President, and we warned Mr. Lincoln personally before his reelection by placing the first 128 pages of this book in his hands ; but his patriotic devotion to his country led him to disregard all intimations of personal danger. The exalted and holy purpose of destroying slavery, and preventing his country's ruin were everywhere uppermost in his mind ; above all barbarity himself, it was not easy to convince him of its existence in others. But while we kept sounding the alarm like a fire-bell in the night, fawning sycophants who sought him only for place, refused to aid us ; but rather threw cold water on all the incontrovertible facts we produced or warnings we gave.

The press of the whole country with the exception of the *New York Evening Post*, *The Independent*, *The Brooklyn Union*, and a few others refused even to say one word about the Assassination of Presidents Harrison and Taylor. In fact, the nation was lulled into fancied security by those holding the positions of sentinels on guard. The democratic leaders did not care to have it known, that slavery had murdered both, and the only Presidents the opposition had placed in power. The other party

leaders believed it all, but thought it policy to hold it back ; deeming it inexpedient to give to the world an account of these monstrous political crimes. Some of the ministers of the gospel barely hinted that the deaths of Harrison and Taylor were mysterious ; but it was not until after President Lincoln's Assassination that any one of them came forward and boldly announced it to be an established fact. Reverend Henry Ward Beecher in an article written for *The New York Ledger* of the 20th of May 1865, says :

“ There is, also, the gravest reasons to believe that all moral restrictions were yielded, and that crimes the most infamous were deliberately employed as the means of promoting the bad ends of these conspirators. Those who know most of the interior of affairs, scarcely doubt that Harrison was poisoned that Tyler might fulfill Southern plans of war with Mexico. With even stronger conviction is it affirmed that Taylor was poisoned, that a less stern successor might give a suppler instrument to Southern managers. Who doubts, now, that it was attempted to poison Buchanan at the National Hotel, and leave Breckenridge in his room ? It is a matter of verified history that efforts were made to take off Mr. Lincoln before he should be inaugurated. And now, the whole world is astounded by the hideous crime by which he has been removed from life.

“ This perspective is needed to reveal the characters of the chief men in this superlative infamy of secession. We do not believe that the Southern *people* were privy to such crimes, or that all who became conspicuous in the Southern councils and armies knew of such things, but that the real leaders were men steeped in crime, and capable of the utmost infamy, we have not a doubt.”

Professor Robert Grant of Baltimore, Md., in his able and interesting letter written to the author prior to the Assassination of President Lincoln, and before his reelection, should be carefully read by every one. Then let him or her turn to the 120th page of the book commencing at the bottom, and they can see the country *directed to the very spot where the scheme was being planned*, and that was over *six months before the plans were put into execution*. We do not attain to the spirit or power of prophesy ; but we do believe we gave information which, if it had been properly heeded at the time, might have prevented the foul murder of President Lincoln. But fate had otherwise decreed, and all that is now left for us to do is to give a faithful and truthful history of the foul crime.

After the battle of Gettysburg was fought, the leaders of the rebellion for the first time discovered that all their previous calculations concerning the eastern troops were erroneous ; they then saw that the army of the Potomac, when properly handled, was more than a match for



any similar number of troops they could bring into the field. They had not calculated on such bravery as was exhibited on McPherson's Heights, and all over the battle ground. They now for the first time, contrary to their preconceived opinions, discovered that Americans are *Americans*, whether born on the Penobscot, the Hudson, the Susquehanna, the Rio Grand, the Mississippi, or the James. All hope of gaining independence by the valor of their arms was now gone. It was then determined at Richmond to assist the peace faction in the Free States to gain the presidential election coming on in the fall. But this move could not be expected to succeed without they had a war man to head the ticket. The plan was that a true and tried friend should occupy the second position, and by the popularity of the first, both were to be put into power. This accomplished, the next thing was to get rid of McClellan. He might quietly be slipped aside by poison, or if need be, publicly assassinated; by this means they intended to get hold of the purse strings and sword of the Government. The right to secede would then be reassured, and by that means they would achieve their independence. But the first plan did not succeed; yet over one million of dollars was taken from the rebel secret service fund and spent by the Richmond government in this enterprise. Lincoln being reëlected, new tactics had to be resorted to. Their first plan had not succeeded, but they had another yet back as a substitute, and that was to capture if possible, and if that could not be done, then to assassinate the Chief Magistrate, Vice President, the best generals, and leading cabinet officers. It was thought that such an appalling catastrophe would be calculated to intimidate the country to such a degree, those coming into place would readily consent to, and acknowledge their independence. Immediately after the result of the Presidential Election of 1864 was known (their first plot having failed), the following advertisement appeared, first in the *Dispatch*, published at Salem Alabama, and afterwards in about all the rebel press of the South:

“ December 1, 1864.

“ ONE MILLION DOLLARS WANTED, TO HAVE PEACE BY THE FIRST OF MARCH. If the citizens of the Southern Confederacy will furnish me with the cash, or good securities, for the sum of One Million Dollars, I will cause the lives of Abraham Lincoln, William H. Seward, and Andrew Johnston, to be taken by the 1st of March next. This will give us peace, and satisfy the world that cruel tyrants can not live in a land of liberty. If this is not accomplished, nothing will be claimed beyond the sum of fifty thousand dollars, in advance, which is supposed to be necessary to reach and slaughter the three villains.

“ I will give, myself, one thousand dollars towards this patriotic purpose.

“ Every one wishing to contribute will address Box X., Cahawba, Ala.”

For to carry out his hellish plot, which never had an equal, some skillfull bold and daring leader was required. He soon appeared. John W. Booth, a play actor by profession; he was the idol of the play going people of all the Southern Cities, where most of his professional life had been spent. The leaders of the rebellion well knew his impulsive nature, they also knew he was a great admirer of "Brutus the Aassassin of Cæsar," "Charlotte Corday the Assassin of Marat," "Joan of Arc" and that class of historical characters; he was strongly in sympathy with the rebellion, and could rival Northern Copperhead newspapers or orators in vilifying President Lincoln. Booth was easily approached and they approached him. There is little doubt but Lewis Payne and John H. Surratt, also had access to, and conferred with either Jeff Davis in person, or his agents in Canada. Beverley Tucker, George N. Sanders, C. C. Clay, Jacob Thompson, W. N. Cleary, and others.

Mary E. Surratt, mother of John H. Surratt, whose house was made the rendezvous of all the assassins, was also active and energetic. George A. Atzeroth and David E. Harold also went into the conspiracy with spirit; the former was to have assassinated Vice President Johnson, and had taken a room directly over his at the Kirkwood House where the Vice President boarded. Booth, Payne, John H. Surratt, Atzeroth, and Harold, were expected to do the work; John H. Surratt was to have assassinated Lieutenant General Grant while at the theatre at the same time Booth did President Lincoln, but Grant's absence prevented it. Booth performed his part; Payne who had been assigned to assassinate Secretary Seward, made a bold and murderous attempt, severely wounding him, also his two sons, in the desperate onslaught. From some yet unknown cause, Atzeroth and Harold did not succeed, although the necessary preparation all had been made. Booth wanted the latter to kill the Vice President, although it had been previously agreed that Atzeroth should do it, but Booth feared he lacked courage. Harold was to have taken the life of Secretary Stanton; but in his efforts to screw Atzeroth's courage up to kill the Vice President he failed to be on time to meet the Secretary of War, he having gone to see Mr. Seward, and had only left his bedside about twenty minutes before the assassin Payne made the murderous assault. Samuel Arnold, Michael O'Loughlin, and Samuel A. Mudd. The evidence against these persons was not sufficiently strong to cause their execution, yet they were enough implicated to induce the court to sentence them to a life long imprisonment. Edward Spangler was sentenced for the term of six years. Immediately after the capture of Richmond and Lee's army by General Grant, the conspiracy was brought to a head. Therefore the first opportunity to put it into execution was to be embraced. The reader will remember it was on the 14th of April, 1861, that the national flag was low-



ered from the ramparts of Fort Sumter. On the 14th of April, just four years afterwards, the same banner, vindicated by a thousand bloody battles, was again thrown to the breeze by the same hand, and over the same spot whence it disappeared in 1861. Richmond had been taken and Lee's army captured. Johnston was within the firm grasp of Sherman, and the 14th of April 1865 was a day of rejoicing throughout the nation.

From East to West the flags were flying in honor of the great events. Monday night, April 17th, was designed as a night of illumination. But the foul assassins were urged to strike quick, or all would be lost. Mr. Lincoln was unusually cheerful at the prospect of returning peace; he had agreed to visit Ford's Theatre, and it was announced in the papers that he and General Grant would be at the theatre that evening. Mr. Lincoln in company with his lady, Miss Harris, daughter of Senator Harris of New York, and Major Rathburn of the U. S. A., reached the theatre about twenty minutes before nine o'clock P.M. On entering the box the audience (which was immense, on account of the announcement in the papers that he and General Grant would attend the theatre that night) rose to their feet cheering and waving handkerchiefs and hats tumultuously. Mr. Lincoln's face was radiant with pleasure, indicating the gratitude that filled his heart, gracefully bowed in acknowledgement of the compliments that were being shown towards him. When a few minutes before ten o'clock in the evening, while the play, "Our American Cousin" was progressing, Booth and two of his hired assassins appeared in front of the theatre; he had his horse secreted in an alley-way, and had made all things ready; during the day he had the entrance to the box where the President was to sit so arranged it would be easy of access. It was about half past nine when Sergeant Joseph M. Dye (son of the author), Battery C. Pennsylvania Independent Artillery was standing in front of the entrance, he and Sergeant Cooper of the same battery saw Booth come out of the passage and join in conversation with two other persons. The President's carriage was standing near the curbstone on the street; they observed an unusual excitement among them, and frequent references to the vehicle. At last, Booth went into the passage way that leads from the stage to the street. He soon returned, and one of them called out the time, after some conversation, one stepped up the street, returning called out the time louder than before, "ten minutes past ten;" he that announced the time, now started up the street, and Booth went straight into the theatre; in a few moments after, persons ran out of the theatre, and announced the President was shot. Although nothing had taken place to cause the sergeant to know the business or intentions of the three men, yet his suspicions were aroused, but not sufficiently to warrant interference, or ask for an explanation. Knowing Booth as an actor, it

served to quiet, rather than to cause his excitability concerning their intentions. But perhaps he was the only man living, out side of those engaged in the plot, that came near discovering, before the deed was done, Booth's intention to do it. But fate had otherwise decreed, and we must be content.

Booth passed along the passage behind the spectators of the dress circle, showed a card to the President's messenger, and stood for a few moments looking down upon the stage and orchestra below. He then entered the vestibule of the President's box, closing the door behind him, fastening it by bracing a short plank against it from the wall so no one could open it from the outside, and drawing with his right hand a small silver mounted Derringer pistol from his inside coat pocket, held in his left hand a long double edged dagger. The President and all in the box were intent on looking at the play, Mr. Lincoln holding aside the curtain of the box with his left hand, leaning forward and looking with his head slightly turned towards the audience. Booth stepped into the inner door into the box directly behind the President, and holding his pistol just over the back of the chair in which he sat, shot him through the back of the head. The President's head fell slightly forward, his eyes closed, but otherwise his attitude every way remained the same.

The report of the pistol startled those seated in the box. Major Rathburn turning his eyes from the stage saw through the smoke which filled the box a man standing between him and the President. He instantly sprang forward to seize him; Booth wrested himself from his grasp, dropped the pistol, striking at Rathburn with his dagger, stabbing him in the left arm near the shoulder. Booth then rushed to the front of the box, shouted, *Sic Semper Tyrannis*, placed his hand on the railing in front of the box and leaped over it down upon the stage. While jumping the spur on his heel caught in the flag that draped the front, causing him to fall, but recovering himself, rose, facing the audience in a theatrical attitude, brandishing the dagger, shouted, THE SOUTH IS AVENGED; rushing across the stage he made for the passage that led to the stage door in the rear of the theatre.

An actor, named Hawk, was the only person on the stage when he leaped upon it; seeing the dagger in Booth's hand he ran for his life off the stage and up a flight of stairs. Booth now made for the door that opened into the passage where his horse was standing; closing the door behind him, mounted his horse that he had previously brought there, which was being held in readiness for him by a boy, rode off and over the east branch of the Potomac, crossing the Anacosta Bridge, giving his real name to the guard who challenged him, rode off among the rebel sympathizers in Lower Maryland and they secreted him for a time until he



was shot in a barn in being captured, he refusing to surrender. Harold was with him at the time, but surrendered and was taken prisoner. Thus the life of the illustrious Chief Magistrate was taken, and in order that the reader may have a full and complete account of all the facts in this terrible tragedy, and also to satisfy him of the complicity of leading rebels with the assassination of President Lincoln, we give the summing up of the facts and the evidence by John A. Bingham, special Judge Advocate, although lengthy, the reader if he commences will finish.

#### JUDGE-ADVOCATE BINGHAM'S GREAT PLEA.

What is the evidence, direct and circumstantial? That the accused, or either of them, together with John H. Surratt, John Wilkes Booth, Jefferson Davis, George N. Sanders, Beverly Tucker, Jacob Thompson, William C. Cleary, Clement C. Clay, George Harper and George Young, did combine, confederate and conspire in aid of the existing rebellion, as charged, to kill and murder, within the military department of Washington, and within the fortified and intrenched lines thereof, Abraham Lincoln, late, and at the time of the said combining, confederating and conspiring, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof; Andrew Johnson, Vice-President of the United States; William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, and Ulysses S. Grant, Lieutenant-General of the armies thereof, and then in command, under the direction of the President.

The time, as said in the charge and specification, when this conspiracy was entered into, is immaterial, so that it appears by the evidence that the criminal combination and agreement were formed before the commission of the acts alleged. That Jefferson Davis, one of the conspirators named, was the acknowledged chief and leader of the existing rebellion against the government of the United States, and that Jacob Thompson, George N. Sanders, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, and others named in the specification, were his duly accredited and authorized agents to act in the interests of said rebellion, are facts established by the testimony in this case beyond all question. That Davis, as the leader of said rebellion, gave to those agents, then in Canada, commissions in blank, bearing the official signature of the war minister, James A. Seddon, to be by them filled up and delivered to such agents as they might employ to act in the interests of the rebellion within the United States, and intended to be a cover and protection for any crimes they might therein commit in the service of the rebellion, are also facts established here, and which no man can gainsay. Who doubts that Kennedy, whose confession, made in view of immediate death as proved here, was commissioned by those accredited agents of Davis to burn the city of New York? that he was to have attempted it on the night of the Presidential election, and that he did, in combination with his confederates, set fire to four hotels in the city of New York on the night of the 25th of November last? Who doubts that, in like manner in the interests of the rebellion and by the authority of Davis, these his agents also commissioned Bennett H. Young to commit arson, robbery, and the murder of unarmed citizens in St. Albans, Vermont? Who doubts, upon the testimony shown, that Davis, by his agents, deliberately adopted the system of starvation for the murder of our captive soldiers in his hands, or that, as shown by the testimony, he sanctioned the burning of hospitals and steamboats, the property of private persons, and paid therefor from his stolen treasure the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars in gold?

By the evidence of Joseph Hyams it is proved that Thompson—the agent of Jefferson Davis—paid him money for the service he rendered in the infamous and fiendish project of importing pestilence into our camps and cities to destroy the

lives of citizens and soldiers alike, and into the house of the President, for the purpose of destroying his life. It may be said, and doubtless will be said, by the pensioned advocates of this rebellion, that Hyams, being infamous is not to be believed. It is admitted that he is infamous, as it must be conceded that any man is infamous who either participates in such a crime or attempts in any way to extenuate it. But it will be observed that Hyams is supported by the testimony of Mr. Sanford Conover, who heard Blackburn and the other rebel agents in Canada speak of this infernal project, and by the testimony of Mr. Wall, the well-known auctioneer of this city, whose character is unquestioned, that he received this importation of pestilence (of course without any knowledge of the purpose), and that Hyams consigned the goods to him in the name of J. W. Harris—a fact in itself an acknowledgment of guilt; and that he received afterwards a letter from Harris, dated Toronto, Canada West, December 1, 1864, wherein Harris stated that he had not been able to come to the States since his return to Canada, and asked for an account of the sale. He identifies the Joseph Godfrey Hyams who testified in Court as the J. W. Harris who imported the pestilence. The very transaction shows that Hyams' statement is truthful. He gives the names of the parties connected with this infamy (Clement C. Clay, Dr. Blackburn, Rev. Dr. Stuart Robinson, J. C. Holcomb—all refugees from the Confederacy in Canada), and states that he gave Thompson a receipt for the fifty dollars paid to him, and that he was by occupation a shoemaker; in none of which facts is there an attempt to discredit him. It is not probable that a man in his position in life would be able to buy five trunks of clothing, ship them all the way from Halifax to Washington, and then order them to be sold at auction, without regard to price, solely upon his own account. It is a matter of notoriety, that a part of his statement is verified by the results at Newbern, North Carolina, to which point, he says, a portion of the infected goods were shipped, through a sutler; the result of which was, that nearly two thousand citizens and soldiers died there about that time with the yellow fever.

That the rebel chief, Jefferson Davis, sanctioned these crimes, committed and attempted, through the instrumentality of his accredited agents in Canada, Thompson, Clay, Tucker, Sanders, Cleary, &c., upon the persons and property of the people of the North, there is positive proof on your record. The letter brought from Richmond, and taken from the archives of his late pretended government there, dated February 11, 1865, and addressed to him by a late rebel senator from Texas, W. S. Oldham, contains the following significant words: "When Senator Johnson, of Missouri, and myself waited on you a few days since, in relation to the project of annoying and harrassing the enemy by means of burning their shipping, towns, &c., &c., there were several remarks made by you upon the subject, which I was not fully prepared to answer, but which, upon subsequent conference with parties proposing the enterprise, I find can not apply as objections to the scheme. First, the combustible materials consist of several preparations, and not one alone, and can be used without exposing the party using them to the least danger of detection whatever.

"Second, there is no necessity for sending persons in the military service into the enemy's country, but the work may be done by agents. . . . I have seen enough of the effects that can be produced to satisfy me that in most cases, without any danger to the parties engaged, and in others but very slight, we can, first, burn every vessel that leaves a foreign port for the United States; second, we can burn every transport that leaves the harbor of New York, or other Northern port, with supplies for the armies of the enemies in the South; third, burn every transport and gunboat on the Mississippi river, as well as devastate the country of the enemy, and fill his people with terror and consternation. . . . For the purpose of satisfying your mind upon the subject, I respectfully but earnestly request that you will give an interview with General Harris, formerly a member of Congress from Missouri, who, I think, is able, from conclusive proofs, to convince you that what I have suggested is perfectly feasible and practicable."

No one can doubt, from the tenor of this letter, that the rebel Davis only wanted to be satisfied that this system of arson and murder could be carried on by his



agents in the North successfully and without detection. With him it was not a crime to do these acts, but only a crime to be detected in them. But Davis, by his endorsement on this letter, dated the 20th of February, 1865, bears witness to his own complicity and his own infamy in this proposed work of destruction and crime for the future, as well as to his complicity in what had before been attempted without complete success. Kennedy, with his confederates, had failed to burn the city of New York. "The combustibles" which Kennedy had employed were, it seems, defective. This was "a difficulty to be overcome." Neither had he been able to consummate the dreadful work without subjecting himself to *detection*. This was another "*difficulty to be overcome*." Davis, on the 20th of February, 1865, indorsed upon this letter these words: "Secretary of State, at his convenience, see General Harris and learn what plan he has for *overcoming the difficulties heretofore experienced*. J. D."

This indorsement is unquestionably proved to be the handwriting of Jefferson Davis, and it bears witness on its face that the monstrous proposition met his approval, and that he desired his rebel Secretary of State, Benjamin, to see General Harris, and learn how to overcome *the difficulty heretofore experienced*, to wit: the inefficiency of "the combustible materials" that had been employed, and the liability of his agents to detection. After this, who will doubt that he had endeavored, by the hand of incendiaries, to destroy by fire the property and lives of the people of the North, and thereby "fill them with terror and consternation;" that he knew his agents had been unsuccessful; that he knew his agents had been detected in their villiany and punished for their crime; that he desired through a more perfect "chemical preparation," by the science and skill of Professor McCulloch, to accomplish successfully what had been unsuccessfully attempted?

The intercepted letter of his agent, Clement C. Clay, dated St. Catherine's, Canada West, November 1, 1864, is an acknowledgment and confession of what they had attempted, and a suggestion made through J. P. Benjamin, rebel Secretary of State, of what remained to be done, in order to make the "chemical preparation" efficient. Speaking of this Bennett H. Young, he says: "You have doubtless learned through the press of the United States of the raid on St. Albans by about twenty-five Confederate Soldiers, led by Lieutenant Bennett H. Young, of their attempt and failure to burn the town; of their robbery of three banks there of the aggregate amount of about two hundred thousand dollars; of their arrest in Canada by the United States forces of their commitment and the pending preliminary trial."

He makes application, in aid of Young and his associates, for additional documents, showing that they acted upon the authority of the Confederate States government, taking care to say, however, that he held such authority at the time, but that it ought to be more explicit, so far as regards the particular facts complained of. He states that he met Young at Halifax, in May, 1864, who developed his plans for retaliation on the enemy; that he, Clay, recommended him to the rebel Secretary of War; that after this, "Young was sent back by the Secretary of War with a commission as Second Lieutenant, to execute his plans and purposes, but to report to Hon. — and myself." Young afterwards "proposed passing through New England, burning some towns and robbing them of whatever he could convert to the use of the confederate government. This I approved as justifiable retaliation. He attempted to burn the town of St. Albans, Vermont, and would have succeeded but for the failure of the *chemical preparation*, with which he was armed. He then robbed the banks of funds amounting to over two hundred thousand dollars. That he was not prompted by selfish or mercenary motives I am as well satisfied as I am that he is an honest man. He assured me before going that his effort would be to destroy towns and farm-houses, but not to plunder or rob; but he said if, after firing a town, he saw he could take *funds* from a bank or any house, and thereby might inflict injury upon the enemy and benefit his own government, he would do so. He added most emphatically that *whatever* he took should be turned over to the government, or its representatives in foreign lands. My instructions to him were to destroy



whatever was valuable, not to stop to rob : but if, after firing a town, he could seize and carry off money, or treasury or bank notes, he might do so upon condition that they were delivered to the proper authorities of the confederate States," that is, to Clay himself.

When he wrote this letter, it seems that this accredited agent of Jefferson Davis was as strongly impressed with the usurpation and despotism of Mr. Lincoln's Administration as some of the advocates of his aiders and abettors seem to be at this day ; and he indulges in the following statement :—" All that a large portion of the Northern people, especially in the Northwest, want to resist the oppressions of the despotism at Washington is a leader. They are ripe for resistance, and it may come soon after the Presidential election. At all events, it must come, if our armies are not overcome, or destroyed, or dispersed. No people of the Anglo-Saxon blood can long endure the usurpations and tyrannies of Lincoln." Clay does not sign the despatch, but indorses the bearer of it as a person who can identify him and give his name. The bearer of that letter was the witness, Richard Montgomery, who saw Clay write a portion of the letter, and received it from his hands, and subsequently delivered to the Assistant Secretary of War of the United States, Mr. Dana. That the letter is in Clay's handwriting is clearly proved by those familiar with it. Mr. Montgomery testifies that he was instructed by Clay to deliver this letter to Benjamin, the rebel Secretary of State, if he could get through to Richmond, and to tell him what names to put in the blanks.

This letter leaves no doubt, if any before existed, in the mind of any one who had read the letter of Oldham, and Davis' indorsement thereon, that the "chemical preparations" and "combustible materials" had been tried and had failed, and it became a matter of great moment and concern that they should be so prepared as, in the words of Davis, "to overcome the difficulties heretofore experienced ;" that is to say, complete the work of destruction, and secure the perpetrators against personal injury or detection in the performance of it.

It only remains to be seen whether Davis, the procurer of arson and of the indiscriminate murder of the innocent and unoffending necessarily resultant therefrom, was capable also of endeavoring to procure, and in fact did procure, the murder, by direct assassination, of the President of the United States, and others charged with the duty of maintaining the government of the United States, and of suppressing the rebellion in which this arch-traitor and conspirator was engaged.

The official papers of Davis, captured under the guns of our victorious army in his rebel capital, identified beyond question or shadow of doubt, and placed upon your record, together with the declarations and acts of his co-conspirators and agents, proclaim to all the world that he was capable of attempting to accomplish his treasonable procurement of the murder of the late President, and other chief officers of the United States, by the hands of hired assassins.

In the fall of 1864, Lieutenant W. Alston addressed to "his Excellency" a letter now before the court, which contains the following words :

"I now offer you my services, and if you will favor me in my designs, I will proceed, as soon as my health will permit, to rid my country of some of her deadliest enemies, by striking at the very heart's blood of those who seek to enchain her in slavery. I consider nothing dishonorable having such a tendency. All I ask of you is, to favor me by granting me the necessary papers, &c., to travel on. . . . I am perfectly familiar with the North, and feel confident that I can execute anything I undertake. I was in the raid last June in Kentucky, under General John H. Morgan : . . . was taken prisoner. . . . escaped from them by dressing myself in the garb of a citizen. . . . I went through to the Canadas, from whence, by the assistance of Colonel J. P. Holcomb, I succeeded in working my way around and through the blockade. . . . I should like to have a personal interview with you in order to perfect the arrangements before starting."

Is there any room to doubt that this was a proposition to assassinate, by the hand of this man and his associates, such persons in the North as he deemed the



"deadliest enemies" of the rebellion? The weakness of the man who, for a moment, can doubt that such was the proposition of the writer of this letter, is certainly an object of commiseration. What had Jefferson Davis to say to this proposed assassination of the "deadliest enemies" in the North of his great treason? Did the atrocious suggestion kindle in him indignation against the villain who offered, with his own hand, to strike the blow? Not at all. On the contrary, he ordered his private secretary, on the 29th of November, 1864, to indorse upon the letter these words:—"Lieutenant A. W. Alston, accompanied raid into Kentucky, and was captured; but escaped into Canada, from whence he found his way back. Now offers his services to rid the country of some of its deadliest enemies; asks for papers, &c. Respectfully referred, by direction of the President, to the honorable Secretary of War." It is also indorsed, for attention, "By order." Signed "J. A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War."

Note the fact, in this connection, that Jefferson Davis himself, as well as his subordinates, had, before the date of this indorsement, concluded that Abraham Lincoln was the "deadliest enemy" of the rebellion. You hear it in the rebel camp in Virginia, in 1863; declared by Booth, then and there present, and assented to by rebel officers, that "Abraham Lincoln must be killed." You hear it in that slaughter-pen in Georgia, Andersonville, proclaimed among rebel officers, who, by the slow torture of starvation, inflicted cruel and untimely death on ten thousand of your defenders, captives in their hands whispering, like demons, their horrid purpose, "Abraham Lincoln must be killed." And in Canada, the accredited agents of Jefferson Davis, as early as October, 1864, and afterward, declared that "Abraham Lincoln must be killed," if his re-election could not be prevented. These agents in Canada, on the 13th of October, 1864, delivered, in cipher, to be transmitted to Richmond by Richard Montgomery, the witness whose reputation is unchallenged, the following communication:—

"OCTOBER 13, 1864.—We again urge the immense necessity of our gaining immediate advantages. Strain every nerve for victory. We now look upon the re-election of Lincoln in November as almost certain, and we need to whip these hirelings to prevent it. Besides, with Lincoln re-elected, and his armies victorious, we need not hope even for recognition, much less the help mentioned in our last. Holecomb will explain this. Those figures of the Yankee army are correct to a unit. Our friends shall be immediately set to work as you direct."

To which an official reply, in cipher, was delivered to Montgomery by an agent of the State Department in Richmond, dated October 19, 1864, as follows:—

"Your letter of the 13th inst. is at hand. There is yet time enough to colonize many voters before November. A blow will shortly be stricken here. It is not quite time. General Longstreet is to attack Sheridan without delay, and then move North as far as practicable toward unprotected points. This will be made instead of the movement before mentioned. He will endeavor to assist the Republicans in collecting their ballots. Be watchful and assist him."

On the very day of the date of this Richmond despatch, Sheridan was attacked and with what success history will declare. The court will not fail to notice that the re-election of Mr. Lincoln is to be prevented, if possible, by any and every means. Nor will they fail to notice that Holecomb is to "explain this"—the same person who, in Canada, was the friend and adviser of Alston, who proposed to Davis the assassination of the "deadliest enemies" of the rebellion.

In the despatch of the 13th of October, which was borne by Montgomery, and transmitted to Richmond in October last, you will find these words:—"Our friends shall be immediately set to work as you direct." Mr. Lincoln is the subject of that despatch. Davis is therein notified that his agents in Canada look upon the re-election of Mr. Lincoln in November as almost certain. In this connection he is assured by those agents that the friends of their cause are to be set to work as Davis had directed.

The conversations which are proved by witnesses, whose character stands un-



impeached, disclose what "work" the "friends" were to do under the direction of Davis himself. Who were these "friends," and what was "the work" which his agents, Thompson, Clay, Tucker, and Saunders, had been directed to set them at? Let Thompson answer for himself. In a conversation with Richard Montgomery, in the summer of 1864, Thompson said "he had his friends, confederates, all over the Northern States, who were ready and willing to go any length for the good of the cause of the South, and he could at any time have the tyrant Lincoln, or any other of his advisers that he chose, put out of his way; that they would not consider it a crime when done for the cause of the confederacy." This conversation was repeated by the witness in the summer of 1864 to Clement C. Clay, who immediately stated:—"That is so; we are all devoted to our cause, and ready to go any length—to do anything under the sun."

At and about the time that these declarations of Clay and Thompson were made, Alston, who made the proposition, as we have seen, to Davis, to be furnished with papers, to go North and rid the confederacy of some of its "deadliest enemies," was in Canada. He was, doubtless, one of the "friends" referred to. As appears from the testimony of Montgomery, Payne, the prisoner at your bar, was about that time in Canada, and was seen standing by Thompson's door, engaged in a conversation with Clay, between whom and the witness some words were interchanged, when Clay stated he (Payne) was one of their friends, "we trust him." It is proved beyond a shadow of doubt, that in October last, John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of the President, was also in Canada and upon intimate terms with Thompson, Clay, Sanders, and other rebel agents. Who can doubt, in the light of the events which have since transpired, that he was one of the "friends" to be "set to work" as Davis had already directed; not, perhaps, as yet to assassinate the President, but to do that other work which is suggested in the letter of Oldham, indorsed by Davis in his own hand, and spread upon your record, the work of the secret incendiary, which was to "fill the people of the North with terror and consternation."

The other "work" spoken of by Thompson, putting the tyrant Lincoln and any of his advisers out of the way, was work doubtless to be commenced only after the re-election of Mr. Lincoln, which they had already declared in their despatch to their employer, Davis, was with them a foregone conclusion. At all events, it was not until after the Presidential election in November that Alston proposed to Davis to go North on the work of assassination; nor was it until after that election that Booth was found in possession of the letter which is in evidence, and which discloses the purpose to assassinate the President. Being assured, however, when Booth was with them in Canada, as they had already declared, in their despatch, that the re-election of Mr. Lincoln was certain, in which event there would be no hope for the confederacy, they doubtless entered into the arrangement with Booth as one of their "friends," that as soon as that fact was determined he should go "to work," and as soon as might be "rid the confederacy of the tyrant Lincoln and of his advisers."

That these persons named upon your record, Thompson, Sanders, Clay, Cleary and Tucker, were the agents of Jefferson Davis, is another fact established in this case beyond a doubt. They made affidavit of it themselves, of record here, upon the examination of their "friends," charged with the raid upon St. Albans, before Judge Smith, in Canada. It is in evidence also by the letter of Clay, before referred to.

The testimony, to which I have thus briefly referred, shows, by the letter of his agents, of the 13th of October, that Davis had before directed those agents to set his friends at work. By the letter of Clay, it seems that his direction had been obeyed, and his friends had been set to work, in the burning and robbery and murder at St. Albans, in the attempt to burn the city of New York, and in the attempt to introduce pestilence into this Capital and into the house of the President. It having appeared, by the letter of Alston, and the indorsement thereon, that Davis had in November entertained the proposition of sending agents, that is to say, "friends," to the North, to not only "spread terror and consternation,"



nation among the people," by means of his "chemical preparations," but also, in the words of that letter, "to strike," by the hands of assassins, "at the heart's blood" of the deadliest enemies in the North to the confederacy of traitors ; it has also appeared by the testimony of many respectable witnesses, among others the attorneys who represented the people of the United States and the State of Vermont, in the preliminary trial of the raiders in Canada, that Clay, Thompson, Tucker, Sanders, and Cleary, declared themselves the agents of the confederacy. It also clearly appears by the correspondence referred to and the letter of Clay, that they were holding and at any time able to command blank commissions from Jefferson Davis to authorize their friends to do whatever work they appointed them to do, in the interest of the rebellion, by the destruction of life and property in the North.

If a *prima facie* case justifies, as we have seen by the law of evidence it does, the introduction of all declarations and acts of any of the parties to a conspiracy, uttered and done in the prosecution of the common design, as evidence against all the rest, it results, that whatever was said or done in furtherance of the common design, after this month of October, 1864, by either of these agents in Canada, is evidence not only against themselves, but against Davis as well, of his complicity with them in the conspiracy.

Mr. Montgomery testifies that he met Jacob Thompson in January, at Montreal, when he said that "a proposition had been made to him to rid the world of the tyrants, Lincoln, Stanton, Grant, and some others : that he knew the men who had made the proposition were bold, daring men, able to execute what they undertook ; that he himself was in favor of the proposition, but had determined to defer his answer until he had consulted his government at Richmond ; that he was then only awaiting their approval." This was about the middle of January, and, consequently, more than a month after Alston had made his proposition direct to Davis, in writing, to go North and rid their confederacy of some of its "deadliest enemies." It was at the time of this conversation that Payne, the prisoner, was seen by the witness standing at Thompson's door in conversation with Clay. This witness also shows the intimacy between Thompson, Clay, Cleary, Tucker, and Sanders.

A few days after the assassination of the President, Beverly Tucker said to this witness "that President Lincoln deserved his death long ago ; that it was a pity he didn't have it long ago ; and it was too bad that the boys had not been allowed to act when they wanted to."

This remark undoubtedly had reference to the propositions made in the fall to Thompson, and also to Davis, to rid the South of its deadliest enemies by their assassination. Cleary, who was accredited by Thompson as his confidential agent, also stated to this witness that Booth was one of the party to whom Thompson had referred in the conversation in January, in which he said he knew the men who were ready to rid the world of the tyrant Lincoln, and of Stanton and Grant. Cleary also said, speaking of the assassination, "that it was a pity that the whole work had not been done," and added, "they had better look out, we are not done yet ;" manifestly referring to the statement made by his employer, Thompson, before in the summer, that not only the tyrant Lincoln, but Stanton and Grant, and others of his advisers, should be put out of the way. Cleary also stated to this witness that Booth had visited Thompson twice in the winter, the last time in December, and had also been there in the summer.

Sanford Conover testified that he had been for some time a clerk in the War Department, in Richmond, that in Canada he knew Thompson, Sanders, Cleary, Tucker, Clay and other rebel agents ; that he knew John H. Surratt and John Wilkes Booth ; that he saw Booth there upon one occasion, and Surratt upon several successive days ; that he saw Surratt (whom he describes) in April last, in Thompson's room, and also in company with Sanders ; that about the 6th or 7th of April last Surratt delivered to Jacob Thompson a despatch brought by him from Benjamin, at Richmond, inclosing one in cipher from Davis. Thompson had before this proposed to Conover to engage in a plot to assassinate Presi-



dent Lincoln and his Cabinet, and on this occasion he laid his hand upon these despatches and said, "This makes the thing all right," referring to the assent of the rebel authorities, and stated that the rebel authorities had consented to the plot to assassinate Lincoln, Johnston, the Secretary of War, Secretary of State, Judge Chase and General Grant. Thompson remarked further that the assassination of these parties would leave the government of the United States entirely without a head; that there was no provision in the Constitution of the United States by which they could elect another President, if these men were put out of the way.

In speaking of this assassination of the President and others, Thompson said that it was only removing them from office; that the killing of a tyrant was no murder. It seems that he had learned precisely the same lesson that Alston had learned in November, when he communicated with Davis, and said, speaking of the President's assassination, "he did not think anything dishonorable that would serve their cause." Thompson stated at the same time that he had conferred a commission on Booth, and that everybody engaged in the enterprise would be commissioned, and if it succeeded, or failed, and they escaped into Canada, they could not be reclaimed under the extradition treaty. The fact that Thompson and other rebel agents held blank commissions, as I have said, has been proved, and a copy of one of them is on record here.

This witness also testifies to a conversation with William C. Cleary, shortly after the surrender of Lee's army, and on the day before the President's assassination, at the St. Lawrence Hotel, Montreal, when speaking of the rejoicing in the States over the capture of Richmond, Cleary said, "they would put the laugh on the other side of their mouth *in a day or two*." These parties knew that Conover was in the secret of the assassination, and talked with him about it as freely as they would speak of the weather. Before the assassination he had a conversation also with Sanders, who asked him if he knew Booth well, and expressed some apprehension that Booth would "make a failure of it; that he was desperate and reckless, and he was afraid the whole thing would prove a failure."

Dr. James D. Merritt testifies that George Young, one of the parties named in the record, declared in his presence, in Canada, last fall, that Lincoln should never be inaugurated; that they had friends in Washington, who, I suppose, were some of the same friends referred to in the despatch of October 14, and which Davis had directed them "to set to work." George N. Sanders also said to him "that Lincoln would keep himself mighty close if he did serve another term;" while Steele and other confederates declared that the tyrant never should serve another term. He heard the assassination discussed at a meeting of these rebel agents in Montreal in February last. "Sanders said they had plenty of money to accomplish the assassination, and named a number of persons who were ready and willing to engage in undertaking to remove the President, Vice President, the Cabinet, and some of the leading Generals. At this meeting he read a letter which he had received from Davis, which justified him in making any arrangements that he could to accomplish the object. This letter the witness heard read, and it, in substance declared that if the people in Canada and the Southerners in the States were willing to submit to be governed by such a tyrant as Lincoln, he did not wish to recognize them as friends. The letter was read openly; it was also handed to Colonel Steele, George Young, Hill and Scott to read. This was about the middle of February last. At this meeting Sanders named over the persons who were willing to accomplish the assassination, and among the persons thus named was Booth, whom the witness had seen in Canada in October, also George Harper, one of the conspirators named on the record, Caldwell, Randall, Harrison and Surratt.

The witness understood, from the reading of the letter, that if the President, Vice-President, and Cabinet could be disposed of, it would satisfy the people of the North that the Southerners had friends in the North; that a peace could be obtained on better terms; that the rebels had endeavored to bring about a war between the United States and England, and that Mr. Seward, through his energy and sagacity, had thwarted all their efforts; that was given as a reason for remov-



ing him. On the 5th or 6th of April last, this witness met George Harper, Caldwell, Randall, and others, who are spoken of in this meeting at Montreal as engaged to assassinate the President and Cabinet, when Harper said they were going to the States to make a row such as had never been heard of, and added that "if I (the witness) did not hear of the death of Old Abe, of the Vice-President, and of Gen. Dix, in less than ten days, I might put him down as a fool. That was on the 6th of April. He mentioned that Booth was in Washington at that time. He said they had plenty of friends in Washington, and that some fifteen or twenty were going."

This witness ascertained on the 8th of April that Harper and others had left for the States. The proof is that these parties could come through to Washington from Montreal or Toronto in thirty-six hours. They did come, and within the ten days named by Harper the President was murdered. Some attempts have been made to discredit this witness (Dr. Mott), not by the examination of witnesses in court, not by any apparent want of truth in the testimony, but by the *ex parte* statements of these rebel agents in Canada and their hired advocates in the United States. There is a statement upon record, verified by an official communication from the War Department, which shows the truthfulness of this witness, and that is, that before the assassination, learning that Harper and his associates had started for the States, informed as he was of their purpose to assassinate the President, Cabinet and leading Generals, Merritt deemed it his duty to call, and did call, on the 10th of April, upon a justice of the peace in Canada, named Davidson, and gave him the information that he might take steps to stop these proceedings. The correspondence on this subject with Davidson has been brought into court. Dr. Merritt testifies, further, that after this meeting in Montreal he had a conversation with Clement C. Clay, in Toronto, about the letter from Jefferson Davis, which Sanders had exhibited, in which conversation Clay gave the witness to understand that he knew the nature of the letter perfectly, and remarked that he thought the end would justify the means." The witness also testifies to the presence of Booth with Sanders in Montreal last fall, and of Surratt in Toronto in February last.

The court must be satisfied, by the manner of this and other witnesses to the transactions in Canada, as well as by the fact that they are wholly uncontradicted in any material matter that they state, that they speak the truth, and that the several parties named on your record—Davis, Thompson, Cleary, Tucker, Clay, Young, Harper, Booth and John H. Surratt—did combine and conspire together in Canada to kill and murder Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, William H. Seward and Ulysses S. Grant. That this agreement was substantially entered into by Booth and the agents of Davis in Canada as early as October, there can not be any doubt. The language of Thompson at that time and before was that he was in favor of the assassination. His further language was, that he knew the men who were ready to do it, and Booth, it is shown, was there at that time, and, as Thompson's Secretary says, was one of the men referred to by Thompson.

The fact that others, besides the parties named on the record, were, by the terms of the conspiracy, to be assassinated, in nowise affects the case now on trial. If it is true that these parties did conspire to murder other parties as well as those named upon the record, the substance of the charge is proved.

It is also true that if, in pursuance of that conspiracy, Booth, confederated with Surratt and the accused, killed and murdered Abraham Lincoln, the charge and specification is proved literally as stated on your record, although their conspiracy embraced other persons. In law the case stands, though it may appear that the conspiracy was to kill and murder the parties named in the record, and others not named in the record. If the proof is that the accused, with Booth, Surratt, Davis, &c., conspired to kill and murder one or more of the persons named, the charge of conspiracy is proved.

The declaration of Sanders, as proved, that there was plenty of money to carry out this assassination, is very strongly corroborated by the testimony of Mr. Campbell, cashier of the Ontario Bank, who stated that Thompson, during the current year preceding the assassination, had upon deposit in the Montreal branch of the

Ontario Bank, six hundred and forty-nine thousand dollars, besides large sums to his credit in other banks in the Province.

There is a further corroboration of the testimony of Conover as to the meeting of Thompson and Surratt in Montreal, and the delivery of the despatches from Richmond, on the 6th or 7th of April, first, in the fact which is shown, by the testimony of Chester, that in the winter or spring Booth said he himself or some other party must go to Richmond; and, second by the letter of Arnold, dated 27th March last, that he preferred Booth's first query, that he would first go to Richmond and see how they would take it, manifestly alluding to the proposed assassination of the President.

It does not follow because Davis had written a letter in February which, in substance, approved the general object that the parties were fully satisfied with it, because it is clear there was to be some arrangement made about the funds, and it is also clear that Davis had not before as distinctly approved and sanctioned this act as his agents either in Canada or here desired. Booth said to Chester, "We must have money, there is money in this business, and if you will enter into it I will place three thousand dollars at the disposal of your family, but I have no money myself, and must go to Richmond," or one of the parties must go, "to get money to carry out the enterprise." This was one of the arrangements that was to be "made right in Canada." The funds at Thompson's disposal, as the banker testifies, were exclusively raised by drafts of the Secretary of the Treasury of the confederate States upon London, deposited in their bank to the credit of Thompson.

Accordingly, about the 27th of March, Surratt did go to Richmond. On the 3d of April he returned to Washington, and the same day left for Canada. Before leaving he stated to Weichman that when in Richmond he had a conversation with Davis and with Benjamin. The fact in this connection is not to be overlooked, that on or about the day Surratt arrived in Montreal, April 6, Jacob Thompson, as the cashier of the Ontario Bank states, drew of these Confederate funds the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand dollars in the form of certificates, which as the bank officer testifies, "might be used anywhere."

What more is wanting? Surely no word further need be spoken to show that John Wilkes Booth was in this conspiracy; that John H. Surratt was in this conspiracy; and that Jefferson Davis and his several agents named in Canada, were in this conspiracy. If any additional evidence is wanting to show the complicity of Davis in it, let the paper found in the possession of his hired assassin Booth come to bear witness against him. That paper contained the secret cipher which Davis used in his State Department in Richmond, which he employed in communicating with his agents in Canada, and which they employed in the letter of October 13, notifying him that "their friends would be set to work as *he had directed*."

The letter in cipher found in Booth's possession is translated here by the use of the cipher machine now in court, which, as the testimony of Mr. Dana shows, he brought from the rooms of Davis' State Department in Richmond. Who gave Booth this secret cipher? Of what use was it to him if he was not in confederation with Davis?

But there is one other item of testimony that ought, among honest and intelligent people at all conversant with this evidence, to end all further inquiry as to whether Jefferson Davis was one of the parties with Booth, as charged upon this record, in the conspiracy to assassinate the President and others. That is, that on the fifth day after the assassination, in the city of Charlotte, North Carolina, a telegraphic despatch was received by him, at the house of Mr. Bates, from John C. Breckinridge, his rebel Secretary of War, which despatch is produced here, identified by the telegraph agent, and placed upon your record in the words following:

"GREENSBORO', April 19, 1865.—His Excellency President Davis:—President Lincoln was assassinated in the theatre at Washington on the night of the 14th inst. Seward's house was entered on the same night, and he was repeatedly stabbed, and is probably mortally wounded. JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE."



At the time this despatch was handed to him, Davis was addressing a meeting from the steps of Mr. Bates' house, and after reading the despatch to the people, he said :—"If it were to be done, it were *better* it were well done." Shortly afterward, in the house of the witness, in the same city, Breckinridge, having come to see Davis, stated his regret that the occurrence had happened, because he deemed it unfortunate for the people of the South at that time. Davis replied, referring to the assassination, "Well, General, I don't know; if it were to be done at all, it were *better* that it were well done; and if the same had been done to Andy Johnson, the beast, and Secretary Stanton, the job would then be *complete*."

Accomplished as this man was in all the arts of a conspirator, he was not equal to the task—as, happily in the good providence of God, no mortal man is—of concealing, by any form of words, any great crime which he may have meditated or perpetrated either against his government or his fellow-man. It was doubtless furthest from Jefferson Davis' purpose to make confession, and yet he did make confession. His guilt demanded utterance; that demand he could not resist: therefore his words proclaimed his guilt, in spite of his purpose to conceal it. He said, "if it were to be done, it were *better* it were *well done*." Would any man ignorant of the conspiracy be able to devise and fashion such a form of speech as that? Had not the President been murdered? Had he not reason to believe that the Secretary of State had been mortally wounded! Yet he was not satisfied but was compelled to say, "it were *better* it were *well done*;" that is to say, all that had been agreed to be done had not been done.

Two days afterwards, in his conversation with Breckinridge, he not only repeats the same form of expression, "If it were to be done it were *better* it were *well done*," but adds these words :—"And if the same had been done to Andy Johnson, the beast, and to Secretary Stanton, the *job* would *then be complete*." He would accept the assassination of the President, the Vice President, of the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of War as a complete execution of the "job," which he had given out upon contract, and which he had "made all right," so far as the pay was concerned, by the despatches he had sent to Thompson by Surratt, one of his hired assassins.

Whatever may be the convictions of others, my own conviction is that Jefferson Davis is as clearly proven guilty of this conspiracy as is John Wilkes Booth, by whose hand Jefferson Davis inflicted the mortal wound upon Abraham Lincoln. His words of intense hate, and rage, and disappointment are not to be overlooked—that the assassins had not done their work *well*; that they had not succeeded in robbing the people altogether of their constitutional Executive and his advisers, and hence he exclaims, "if they had killed Andy Johnson the beast!" Neither can he conceal his chagrin and disappointment that the war minister of the republic, whose energy, incorruptible integrity, sleepless vigilance, and executive ability had organized day by day, month by month, and year by year, victory for our arms, had escaped the knife of the hired assassins. The job, says this procurer of assassination, was not well done; it had been *better* if it had been well done! Because Abraham Lincoln had been clear in his great office, and had saved the nation's life by enforcing the nation's laws this traitor declares he must be murdered; because Mr. Seward, as the foreign Secretary of the country, had thwarted the purposes of treason to plunge his country into war with England, he must be murdered; because, upon the murder of Mr. Lincoln, Andrew Johnson would succeed the Presidency, and because he had been true to the Constitution and Government, faithful found among the faithless of his own State, clinging to the falling pillars of the Republic when others had fled, he must be murdered; and because the Secretary of War had taken care, by the faithful discharge of his duties, that the Republic should live and not die, he must be murdered. Inasmuch as these two faithful officers were not also assassinated, assuming that the Secretary of State was mortally wounded, Davis could not conceal his disappointment and chagrin that the work was not "well done;" that "the job was not complete."

Thus it appears by the testimony, that the proposition made to Davis was to kill and murder the deadliest enemies of the Confederacy—not to kidnap them, as

is now pretended here : that by the declaration of Sanders, Tucker, Thompson, Clay, Cleary, Harper and Young, the conspirators in Canada, the agreement and combination among them was to kill and murder Abraham Lincoln, Wm. H. Seward, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, Edwin M. Stanton, and others of his advisers, and not to kidnap them ; it appears from every utterance of John Wilkes Booth, as well as from the Charles Selby letter, of which mention will presently be made, that, as early as November, the proposition with him was to kill and murder, not to kidnap.

Since the first examination of Conover, who testified, as the court will remember, to many important facts against these conspirators and agents of Davis in Canada, among others, the terrible and fiendish plot disclosed by Thompson, Pallen and others, that they had ascertained the volume of water in the reservoir supplying New York city, estimated the quantity of poison required to render it deadly, and intended thus to poison a whole city. Conover returned to Canada, by direction of this court, for the purpose of obtaining certain documentary evidence. There, about the 9th of June, he met Beverly Tucker, Sanders and other conspirators, and conversed with them. Tucker declared that Secretary Stanton, whom he denounced as "a scoundrel," and Judge Holt, whom he called "a bloodthirsty villain," "could protect themselves as long as they remained in office by a guard, but that would not always be the case, and, by the Eternal, he had a large account to settle with them."

After this, the evidence of Conover here having been published, these parties called upon him and asked him whether he had been to Washington, and had testified before this court. Conover denied it ; they insisted, and took him to a room, where, with drawn pistols, they compelled him to consent to make an affidavit that he had been falsely personated here by another, and that he would make that affidavit before a Mr. Kerr, who would witness it. They then called in Mr. Kerr to certify to the public that Conover had made such a denial. They also compelled this witness to furnish for publication an advertisement offering a reward of five hundred dollars for the arrest of the "infamous and perjured scoundrel" who had recently personated James W. Wallace under the name of Sandford Conover, and testified to a tissue of falsehoods before the Military Commission at Washington, which advertisement was published in the papers.

To these facts Mr. Conover now testifies, and also discloses the fact that these same men published in the report of the proceedings before Judge Smith an affidavit, purporting to be his, but which he never made. The affidavit which he in fact made, and which was published in a newspaper at that time, produced here, is set out substantially upon your record, and agrees with the testimony upon the same point given by him in this Court.

To suppose that Conover ever made such an affidavit voluntarily as the one wrung from him as stated is impossible. Would he advertise for his own arrest, and charge himself with falsely impersonating himself ? But the fact can not evade observation that, when these guilty conspirators saw Conover's testimony before this Court in the public prints, revealing to the world the atrocious plots of these felon conspirators, conscious of the truthfulness of his statements, they cast about at once for some defence before the public, and devised the foolish and stupid invention of compelling him to make an affidavit that he was not Sandford Conover, was not in this Court, never gave this testimony, but was a practicing lawyer at Montreal. This infamous proceeding, coupled with the evidence before detailed, stamps these ruffian plotters with the guilt of this conspiracy.

John Wilkes Booth having entered into this conspiracy in Canada, as has been shown, as early as October, he is next found in the city of New York, on the 11th day, as I claim of November, in disguise, in conversation with another, the conversation disclosing to the witness, Mrs. Hudspeth, that they had some matter of personal interest between them ; that upon one of them the lot had fallen to go to Washington ; upon the other to go to Newbern. This witness upon being shown the photograph of Booth swears "that the face is the same"



as that of one of those men, who she says was a man of education and culture, as appeared by his conversation, and who had a scar like a bite near the jaw-bone. It is a fact proved hereby the Surgeon-General, that Booth had a scar on the side of his neck.

Mrs. Hudspeth heard him say he would leave for Washington the day after to-morrow. His companion appeared angry because it had not fallen on him to go to Washington. This took place after the Presidential election in November. She can not fix the precise date, but says she was told General Butler left New York on that day. The testimony discloses that General Butler's army was on the 11th of November leaving New York. The register of the National Hotel shows that Booth left Washington on the early morning train, November 11, and that he returned to this city on the 14th. Chester testifies positively to Booth's presence in New York early in November.

This testimony shows most conclusively that Booth was in New York on the 11th of November. The early morning train on which he left Washington would reach New York early in the afternoon of that day. Chester saw him there early in November, and Mrs. Hudspeth not only identifies his picture, but describes his person. The scar upon his neck near his jaw was peculiar, and is well described by the witness as like a bite. On that day Booth had a letter in his possession which he accidentally dropped in the street car in the presence of Mrs. Hudspeth, the witness, who delivered it to Major-General Dix the same day, and by whom, as his letter on file before this Court shows, the same was transmitted to the War Department November 17, 1864. That letter contains these words :

"DEAR LOUIS :—The time has at last come that we have all so wished for, and upon you every thing depends. As it was decided before you left, we were to cast lots. We accordingly did so, and you are to be the Charlotte Corday of the nineteenth century. When you remember the awful, solemn vow that was taken by us, you will feel there is no drawback. *Abe must die, and now.* You can choose your weapons—the cup, the knife, the bullet. The cup failed us once, and might again. Johnson, who will give *this*, has been like an enraged demon since the meeting, because it has not fallen on him to rid the world of a monster. \* \* You know where to find your friends. Your disguises are so perfect and complete, that without one knew your face, no police telegraphic despatch would catch you. The English gentleman, Harcourt, must not act hastily. Remember, he has ten days. Strike for your home, strike for your country ; bide your time, but strike sure. Get introduced ; congratulate him ; listen to his stories ; (not many more will the brute tell to earthly friends :) do anything but fail, and meet us at the appointed place within the fortnight. You will probably hear from me in Washington. Sanders is doing us no good in Canada.

"CHAS. SELBY."

The learned gentleman, (Mr. Cox), in his very able and carefully considered argument in defense of O'Laughlin and Arnold, attached importance to this letter, and doubtless very clearly saw its bearing upon the case, and, therefore, undertook to show that the witness, Mrs. Hudspeth, must be mistaken as to the person of Booth. The gentleman assumes that the letter of General Dix, of the 17th of November last, transmitting this letter to the War Department, reads that the party who dropped the letter was heard to say that he would start to Washington on Friday night next, although the word "next" is not in the letter, neither is it in the quotation which the gentleman makes, for he quotes it fairly ; yet he concludes that this would be the 18th of November.

Now the fact is, the 11th of November last was Friday, and the register of the National Hotel bears witness that Mrs. Hudspeth is not mistaken ; because her language is, that Booth said he would leave for Washington day after to-morrow, which would be Sunday, the 13th, and if in the evening, would bring him to Washington on Monday, the 14th of November, the day on which the register shows he did return to the National Hotel. As to the improbability which the gentleman raises, on the conversation happening in a street car, crowded with people, there was nothing that transpired, although the conversation was earnest, which enabled

the witness, or could have enabled any one, in the absence of this letter, or of the subsequent conduct of Booth to form the least idea of the subject-matter of their conversation.

The gentleman does not deal altogether fairly in his remarks touching the letter of General Dix; because, upon a careful examination of the letter, it will be found that he did not form any such judgment as that it was a hoax for the *Sunday Mercury*, but he took care to forward it to the Department, and asked attention to it; when, as appears by the testimony of the Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Dana, the letter was delivered to Mr. Lincoln, who considered it important enough to endorse it with the word "Assassination," and file it in his office, where it was found after the commission of this crime, and brought into this court to bear witness against his assassins.

Although this letter would imply that the assassination spoken of was to take place speedily, yet the party was to bide his time. Though he had entered into the preliminary arrangements in Canada, although conspirators had doubtless agreed to co-operate with him in the commission of the crime, and lots had been cast for the chief part in the bloody drama, yet it remained for him as the leader and principal of the hired assassins, by whose hand their employers were to strike the murderous blow, to collect about him and bring to Washington such persons as would be willing to lend themselves, for a price, to the horrid crime, and likely to give the necessary aid and support in its consummation. The letter declares that Abraham Lincoln must die, *and now*, meaning as soon as the agents can be employed and the work done. To that end you will bide your time.

But, says the gentleman, it could not have been the same conspiracy charged here to which this letter refers. Why not? It is charged here that Booth, with the accused and others, conspired to kill and murder Abraham Lincoln; that is precisely the conspiracy disclosed in the letter. Granted that the parties on trial had not then entered into the combination; if they at any time afterward entered into it they became parties to it, and the conspiracy was still the same. But, says the gentleman, the words of the letter imply that the conspiracy was to be executed within the fortnight. Booth is directed, by the name of Louis, to meet the writer within a fortnight. It by no means follows that he was to strike within the fortnight because he was to meet his co-conspirator within that time, and any such conclusion is excluded by the words, "Bide your time."

Even if the conspiracy was to be executed within the fortnight, and was not so executed, and the same party, Booth, afterwards, by concert and agreement with the accused and others, did execute it by "striking sure" and killing the President, that act, whenever done, would be but the execution of this same conspiracy. The letter is conclusive evidence of so much of this conspiracy as relates to the murder of President Lincoln. As Booth was to do anything but fail, he immediately thereafter sought out the agents to enable him to strike sure, and execute all that he had agreed with Davis and his co-confederates in Canada to do—to murder the President, the Secretary of State, the Vice-President, General Grant and Secretary Stanton.

Even Booth's co-conspirator, Payne, now on his trial, by his defence admits all this, and says Booth had just been to Canada, "was filled with a mighty scheme, and was lying in wait for agents." Booth asked the co-operation of the prisoner Payne, and said:—"I will give you as much money as you want; but first you must swear to stick by me. It is in the oil business. This you are told by the accused was early in March last. Thus guilt bears witness against itself.

We find Booth in New York in November, December and January, urging Chester to enter into this combination, assuring him that there was money in it; that they had "friends on the other side," that if he would only participate in it, he would never want for money while he lived, and all that was asked of him was to stand at and open the back door of Ford's Theatre. Booth, in his interview with Chester, confesses that he is without money himself, and allows Chester to reimburse him the fifty dollars which he (Booth) had transmitted to him in a letter for the purpose of paying his expenses to Washington as one of the parties to



this conspiracy. Booth told him, although he himself was penniless, "there is money in this, we have friends on the other side," and if you will but engage, I will have three thousand dollars deposited at once for the use of your family.

Failing to secure the services of Chester, because his soul recoiled with abhorrence from the foul work of assassination and murder, he found more willing instruments in others whom he gathered about him. Men to commit the assassinations, horses to secure speedy and certain escape were to be provided, and to this end Booth, with an energy worthy of a better cause, applies himself. For this latter purpose he told Chester he had already expended \$5,000. In the latter part of November, 1864, he visits Charles county, Maryland, and is in company with one of the prisoners, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, with whom he lodged over night, and through whom he procures of Gardener one of the several horses which were at his disposal, and used by him and his co-conspirators in Washington on the night of the assassination.

Some time in January last, it is in testimony, that the prisoner Mudd introduced Booth to John H. Surratt and the witness Weichman; that Booth invited them to the National Hotel; that when there, in the room which Booth took them, Mudd went out into the passage, called Booth out and had a private conversation with him, leaving the witness and Surratt in the room. Upon their return to the room Booth went out with Surratt, and upon their coming in, all three, Booth, Surratt, and Samuel A. Mudd, went out together, and had a conversation in the passage, leaving the witness alone. Up to the time of this interview it seems that neither the witness nor Surratt had any knowledge of Booth, as they were then introduced to him by Dr. Mudd. Whether Surratt had in fact previously known Booth it is not important to inquire. Mudd deemed it necessary, perhaps, a wise precaution, to introduce Surratt to Booth; he also deemed it necessary to have a private conversation with Booth shortly afterwards, and directly upon that to have a conversation together, with Booth and Surratt alone.

Had this conversation, no part of which was heard by the witness, been perfectly innocent, it is not to be presumed that Dr. Mudd, who was an entire stranger to Weichman, would have deemed it necessary to hold the conversation secretly, nor to have volunteered to tell the witness, or rather pretend to tell him, what the conversation was; yet he did say to the witness, upon their return to the room, by way of apology, I suppose, for the privacy of the conversation, that Booth had some private business with him, and wished to purchase his farm. This silly device, as is often the case in attempts at deception, failed in the execution; for it remains to be shown how the fact that Mudd had private business with Booth, and that Booth wished to purchase his farm, made it at all necessary or even proper that they should both volunteer to call out Surratt, who up to that moment was a stranger to Booth. What had Surratt to do with Booth's purchase of Mudd's farm? And, if it was necessary to withdraw and talk by themselves secretly about the sale of the farm, why should they disclose the fact to the very man from whom they had concealed it?

Upon the return of these three parties to the room, they seated themselves at a table, and upon the back of an envelope Booth traced lines with a pencil, indicating, as the witness states, the direction of roads. Why was this done? As Booth had been previously in that section of country, as the prisoner in his defence has taken great pains to show, it was certainly not necessary to anything connected with the purchase of Mudd's farm that at that time he should be indicating the direction of roads to or from it; nor is it made to appear by anything in this testimony, how it comes that Surratt, as the witness testifies, seemed to be as much interested in the marking out of these roads as Mudd or Booth. It does not appear that Surratt was in any wise connected with, or interested in the sale of Mudd's farm. From all that has transpired since this meeting at the hotel, it would seem that this plotting the roads, was intended, not so much to show the road to Mudd's farm, as to point out the shortest and safest route for flight from the Capital, by the houses of all the parties in this conspiracy, to their "friends on the other side."

But, says the learned gentleman (Mr. Ewing), in his very able argument in de-

fence of this prisoner, why should Booth determine that his flight should be through Charles county? The answer must be obvious, upon a moment's reflection, to every man, and could not possibly have escaped the notice of the counsel himself, but for the reason that his zeal for his client constrained him to overlook it. It was absolutely essential that this murderer should have his co-conspirators at convenient points along his route, and it does not appear in evidence that by the route to his friends, who had then fled from Richmond, which the gentleman (Mr. Ewing) indicates as the more direct, but of which there is not the slightest evidence whatever, Booth had co-conspirators at an equal distance from Washington. The testimony discloses further, that on the route selected by him for his flight, there is a large population that would be most likely to favor and aid him in the execution of his wicked purpose, and in making his escape. But it is a sufficient answer to the gentleman's question, that Booth's co-conspirator, Mudd, lived in Charles county.

To return to the meeting at the hotel. In the light of other facts in this case, it must become clear to the Court that this secret meeting between Booth, Surratt and Mudd was a conference looking to the execution of this conspiracy. It so impressed the prisoner, it so impressed his counsel, that they deemed it necessary and absolutely essential to their defence to attempt to destroy the credibility of the witness Weichman.

I may say here, in passing, that they have not attempted to impeach his general reputation for truth by the testimony of a single witness, nor have they impeached his testimony by calling a single witness to discredit one material fact to which he has testified in this issue. Failing to find a breath of suspicion against Weichman's character, or to contradict a single fact to which he testified, the accused had to fly to the last resort, an *alibi*, and very earnestly did the learned counsel devote himself to the task.

It is not material whether this meeting in the hotel took place on the 23d of December or in January. But, says the counsel, it was after the commencement or close of the Congressional holiday. That is not material; but the concurrent resolution of Congress shows that the holiday commenced on the 22d December, the day before the accused spent the evening in Washington. The witness is not certain about the date of this meeting. The material fact is, did this meeting take place—either on the 23d of December or in January last? Were the private interviews there held, and was the apology made, as detailed, by Mudd and Booth after the secret conference to the witness? That the meeting did take place, and that Mudd did explain that these secret interviews, with Booth first, and with Booth and Surratt directly afterward, had relation to the sale of his farm, is confessedly admitted by the endeavor of the prisoner, through his counsel, to show that negotiations had been going on between Booth and Mudd for the sale of Mudd's farm.

If no such meeting was held, if no such explanation was made by Mudd to Weichman, can any man for a moment believe that a witness would have been called here to give any testimony about Booth having negotiated for Mudd's farm? What conceivable connection has it with this case, except to show that Mudd's explanation to Weichman for his extraordinary conduct was in exact accordance with the fact? Or was this testimony about the negotiations for Mudd's farm intended to show so close an intimacy and intercourse with Booth that Mudd could not fail to recognize him when he came flying for aid to his house from the work of assassination? It would be injustice to the able counsel to suppose that.

I have said that it was wholly immaterial whether this conversation took place on the 23d of December or in January; it is in evidence that in both those months Booth was at the National Hotel; that he occupied a room there; that he arrived there on the 22d, and was there on the 23d of December last, and also on the 12th day of January. The testimony of the witness is, that Booth said he had just come in. Suppose this conversation took place in December, on the evening of the 23d, the time when it is proved by J. T. Mudd, the witness for the accused, that he, in company with Samuel A. Mudd, spent the night in Washington city. Is



there anything in the testimony of that or any other witness to show that the accused did not have and could not have had an interview with Booth on that evening?

J. T. Mudd testifies that he separated from the prisoner, Samuel A. Mudd, at the National Hotel, early in the evening of that day, and did not meet him again until the accused came in for the night at the Pennsylvania House, where he stopped. Where was Dr. Samuel A. Mudd during this interval? What does his witness know about him during that time? How can he say that Dr. Mudd did not go up on Seventh street in company with Booth, then at the National; that he did not, on Seventh street, meet Surratt and Weichman; that he did not return to the National Hotel; that he did not have this interview, and afterwards meet him, the witness, as he testifies, at the Pennsylvania House? Who knows that the Congressional holiday had not, in fact, commenced on that day? What witness has been called to prove that Booth did not on either of those occasions occupy the room that had formerly been occupied by a member of Congress, who had temporarily vacated it, leaving his books there?

Weichman, I repeat, is not positive as to the date, he is only positive as to the fact; and he disclosed voluntarily, to this Court, that the date could probably be fixed by a reference to the register of the Pennsylvania House. That register can not, of course, be conclusive of whether Mudd was there in January or not, for the very good reason that the proprietor admits that he did not know Samuel A. Mudd; therefore, Mudd might have registered by any other name. Weichman does not pretend to know that Mudd had registered at all. If Mudd was here in January, as a party to this conspiracy, it is not at all unlikely that, if he did register at that time in the presence of a man to whom he was wholly unacquainted, his kinsman not then being with him, he would register by a false name.

But if the interview took place in December, the testimony of Weichman bears as strongly against the accused as if it had happened in January. Weichman says he does not know what time was occupied in this interview at the National Hotel; that it probably lasted twenty minutes; that after the private interviews between Mudd, and Surratt, and Booth, which were not of very long duration, had terminated, the parties went to the Pennsylvania House, where Dr. Mudd had rooms, and after sitting together in the common sitting-room of the hotel, they left Dr. Mudd there about ten o'clock P. M., who remained during the night. Weichman's testimony leaves no doubt that this meeting on Seventh street and interview at the National took place after dark, and terminated before or about ten o'clock P. M. His own witness, J. T. Mudd, after stating that he separated from the accused at the National Hotel, says after he had got through a conversation with a gentleman of his acquaintance, he walked down the Avenue, went to several clothing stores, and "after a while" walked round to the Pennsylvania House, and "very soon after" he got there Dr. Mudd came in, and they went to bed shortly afterwards.

What time he spent in his "walk alone" on the Avenue, looking at clothing; what period he embraces in the terms "after a while," when he returned to the Pennsylvania House, and "soon after" which Dr. Mudd got there, the witness does not disclose. Neither does he intimate, much less testify, that he saw Dr. Mudd when he first entered the Pennsylvania House on that night after their separation. How does he know that Booth and Surratt and Weichman did not accompany Samuel A. Mudd to that house that evening? How does he know that the prisoner and those persons did not converse together some time in the sitting-room of the Pennsylvania House? Jeremiah Mudd has not testified that he met Mr. Mudd in that room, or that he was in it himself.

He has, however, sworn to the fact, which is disproved by no one, that the prisoner was separated from him long enough that evening to have had the meeting with Booth, Surratt and Weichman, and the interviews in the National Hotel, and at the Pennsylvania House, to which Weichman has testified. Who is there to disprove it? Of what importance is it whether it was on the 23d of December or in January? How does that affect the credibility of Weich-

man? He is a man, as I have before said, against whose reputation for truth and good conduct they have not been able to bring one witness. If this meeting did by possibility take place that night, is there anything to render it improbable that Booth, and Mudd, and Surratt did have the conversation at the National Hotel to which Weichman testifies? Of what avail, therefore, is the attempt to prove that Dr. Mudd was not here during January, if it was clear that he was here on the 23d of December, 1864, and had this conversation with Booth? That this attempt to prove an *alibi* during January has failed, is quite as clear as the proof of the fact that the prisoner was here on the evening of the 23d of December, and present in the National Hotel, where Booth stopped.

The fact that the prisoner, Samuel A. Mudd, went with J. T. Mudd on that evening to the National Hotel, and there separated from him, is proved by his own witness, J. T. Mudd; and that he did not rejoin him until they retired to bed in the Pennsylvania House, is proved by the same witness, and contradicted by nobody. Does any one suppose there would have been such a siduous care to prove that the prisoner was with his kinsman all the time on the 23d of December in Washington, if they had not known that Booth was then at the National Hotel, and that a meeting of the prisoner with Booth, Surratt and Weichman on that day would corroborate and confirm Weichman's testimony in every material statement he made concerning that meeting?

The accused having signally failed to account for his absence after he separated from his witness, J. T. Mudd, early in the evening of the 23d of December, at the National Hotel, until they had again met at the Pennsylvania House, when they retired to rest, he now attempts to prove an *alibi* as to the month of January. In this he has failed, as he failed in the attempt to show that he could not have met Booth, Surratt and Weichman on the 23d of December.

For this purpose the accused calls Betty Washington. She had been at Mudd's house every night since the Monday after Christmas last, except when here at Court, and says that the prisoner, Mudd, has only been away from home three nights during that time. This witness forgets that Mudd has not been at home any night or day since this court assembled. Neither does she account for the three nights in which she swears to his absence from home. First, she says he went to Gardner's party, second, he went to Giesboro, then to Washington. She does not know in what month he was away, the second time, all night. She only knows where he went from what he and his wife said, which is not evidence; but she does testify that when he left home and was absent over night, the second time, it was about two or three weeks after she came to his house, which would, if it were three weeks, make it just about the 15th of January, 1865, because she swears she came to his house on the first Monday after Christmas last, which was the 26th day of December; so that the 15th of January would be three weeks, less one day from that time; and it might have been a week earlier, according to her testimony; as, also, it might have been a week earlier, or more, by Weichman's testimony, for he is not positive as to the time.

What I have said of the register of the Pennsylvania House, the head-quarters of Mudd and Atzeroth, I need not here repeat. That record proves nothing, save that Dr. Mudd was there on the 23d of December, which, as we have seen, is a fact, along with others, to show that the meeting at the National then took place. I have also called the attention of the Court to the fact, that if Mudd was at the house again in January, and did not register his name, the fact proves nothing; or, if he did, the register only proves that he registered falsely; either of which facts might have happened without the knowledge of the witness called by the accused from that house, who does not know Samuel A. Mudd personally.

The testimony of Henry L. Mudd, his brother, in support of this *alibi*, is that the prisoner was in Washington on the 23d of March, and on the 10th of April, four days before the murder! But he does not account for the absent night in January, about which Betty Washington testifies. Thomas Davis was called for the same purpose, but stated that he was himself absent one night in January, after the 9th of that month, and he could not say whether Mudd was there on that night or not. He does testify to Mudd's absence over night three times, and fixes



one occasion on the night of the 26th of January; this witness can not account for the absence of Mudd on the night referred to by Betty Washington.

This matter is entitled to no further attention. It can satisfy no one, and the burden of proof is upon the prisoner to prove that he was not in Washington in January last. How can such testimony convince any rational man that Mudd was not here in January, against the evidence of an unimpeached witness, who swears that Samuel A. Mudd was in Washington in the month of January? Who, that has been examined here as a witness, knows that he was not?

The Rev. Mr. Evans swears that he saw him in Washington last winter, and that at the same time he saw Jarboe, the one coming out of, and the other going into, a house on H street, which he was informed, on inquiry, was the house of Mrs. Surratt. Jarboe is the only witness called to contradict Mr. Evans, and he leaves it in extreme doubt whether he does not corroborate him, as he swears that he was here himself last winter or fall, but can not state exactly the time. Jarboe's silence on questions touching his own credibility leaves no room for any one to say that his testimony could impeach Mr. Evans, whatever he might swear.

Miss Anna H. Surratt is also called for the purpose of impeaching Mr. Evans. It is sufficient to say of her testimony on that point that she swears negatively only, that she did not see either of the persons named at her mother's house. This testimony neither disproves, nor does it even tend to disprove the fact put in issue by Mr. Evans. No one will pretend, whatever the form of her expression in giving her testimony, that she could say more than that she did not know the fact, as it was impossible that she could know who was, or who was not, at her mother's house, casually, at a period so remote. It is not my purpose, neither is it needful here, to question in any way the integrity of this young woman.

It is further in testimony that Samuel A. Mudd was here on the 3d of March last, the day preceeding the inauguration, when Booth was to strike the traitorous blow, and it was, doubtless, only by the interposition of that God who stands within the shadow and keeps watch above his own, that the victim of this conspiracy was spared that day from the assassin's hand, that he might complete his work and see the salvation of his country in the fall of Richmond and the surrender of its great army. Dr. Mudd was here on that day (the 3d of March), to abet, to encourage, to nerve his co-conspirator for the commission of this great crime. He was carried away by the awful purpose which possessed him, and rushed into the room of Mr. Norton, at the National Hotel, in search of Booth, exclaiming excitedly, "I'm mistaken; I thought this was Mr. Booth's room." He is told Mr. Booth is above, on the next floor. He is followed by Mr. Norton, because of his rude and excited behaviour, and, being followed, conscious of his guilty errand, he turns away, afraid of himself and afraid to be found in concert with his fellow confederate. Mr. Norton identifies the prisoner, and has no doubt that Samuel A. Mudd is the man.

The Rev. Mr. Evans also swears that, after the 1st. and before the 4th day of March last, he is certain that within that time, and on the 2d or 3d of March, he saw Dr. Mudd drive into Washington City. The endeavor is made by the accused, in order to break down this witness, by proving another *alibi*. The sister of the accused, Miss Fanny Mudd, is called. She testifies that she saw the prisoner at breakfast in her father's house on the 2d of March, about five o'clock in the morning, and not again until the 3d of March at noon. Mrs. Emily Mudd swears substantially to the same statement. Betty Washington, called for the accused, swears that he was at home all day at work with her on the 2d of March, and took breakfast at home. Frank Washington swears that Mudd was at home all day; that he saw him when he first came out in the morning, about sunrise, from his own house, and knows that he was there all day with them. Which is correct, the testimony of his sisters or the testimony of servants? The sisters say that he was at their father's house for breakfast on the morning of the 2d of March; the servants say he was at home for breakfast with them on that day. If this testimony is followed, it proves one *alibi* too much. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that the testimony of all these four witnesses can be true.

Seeing this weakness in the testimony brought to prove this second *alibi*, the endeavor is next made to discredit Mr. Norton for truth; and two witnesses, not more, are called, who testify that his reputation for truth has suffered by contested litigation between one of the impeaching witnesses and others. Four witnesses are called, who testify that Mr. Norton's reputation for truth is very good; that he is a man for high character for truth, and entitled to be believed whether he speaks under the obligation of an oath or not. The late Postmaster-General, Hon. Horatio King, not only sustains Mr. Norton as a man of good reputation for truth, but expressly corroborates his testimony, by stating that in March last, about the 4th of March, Mr. Norton told him the same fact to which he swears here—that a man came into his room under excitement, alarmed his sister, was followed out by himself, and went down stairs instead of going up; and that Mr. Norton told him this before the assassination, and about the time of the inauguration.

What motive had Mr. Norton at that time to fabricate this statement? It detracts nothing from his testimony that he did not at that time mention the name of this man to his friend, Mr. King; because it appears from his testimony, and there is none to question the truthfulness of his statement, that at that time he did not know his name. Neither does it take from the force of this testimony that Mr. Norton did not, in communicating this matter to Mr. King, make mention of Booth's name; because there was nothing in the transaction at the time, he being ignorant of the name of Mudd, and equally ignorant of the conspiracy between Mudd and Booth, to give the least occasion for any mention of Booth or of the transaction further than he detailed it. With such corroboration, who can doubt the fact that Mudd did enter the room of Mr. Norton, and was followed by him, on the 3d of March last? Can he be mistaken in the man? Who ever looks at the prisoner carefully once will be sure to recognize him again.

For the present I pass from the consideration of the testimony showing Dr. Mudd's connection with Booth in this conspiracy, with the remark that it is in evidence, and I think established, both by the testimony adduced by the prosecution and that by the prisoner, that since the commencement of this rebellion, John H. Surratt visited the prisoner's house; that he concealed Surratt and other rebels and traitors in the woods near his house, where for several days he furnished them with food and bedding; that the shelter of the woods by night and by day was the only shelter that the prisoner dare furnish those *friends* of his; that in November Booth visited him and remained over night; that he accompanied Booth at that time to Gardner's, from whom he purchased one of the horses used on the night of the assassination to aid the escape of one of his confederates; that the prisoner had secret interviews with Booth and Surratt, as sworn to by the witness, Weichman, in the National Hotel, whether on the 23d of December or in January, is a matter of entire indifference; that he rushed into Mr. Norton's room on the 3d of March in search of Booth, and that he was here again on the 10th of April, four days before the murder of the President.

Of his conduct after the assassination of the President, which is confirmatory of all this; his conspiring with Booth, and his sheltering, concealing, and aiding the flight of his co-conspirator, this felon assassin, I shall speak hereafter, leaving him for the present with the remark that the attempt to prove his character has resulted in showing him in sympathy with the rebellion, so cruel that he shot one of his slaves, and declared his purpose to send several of them to work on the rebel batteries in Richmond.

What others, besides Samuel A. Mudd and John H. Surratt and Lewis Payne, did Booth, after his return from Canada, induce to join him in this conspiracy to murder the President, the Vice-President, and Secretary of State, and the Lieutenant-General, with the intent thereby to aid the rebellion and overthrow the government and laws of the United States?

On the 10th of February the prisoners Arnold and O'Laughlin came to Washington and took rooms in the house of Mrs. Vantyne; were armed; were there visited frequently by John Wilkes Booth, and alone; were occasionally absent when Booth called, who seemed anxious for their return; would sometimes



leave notes for them, and sometimes a request that when they came in they should be told to come to the stable.

On the 18th of March last, when Booth played in *The Apostate*, the witness, Mrs. Vantyne, received from O'Laughlin complimentary tickets. These persons remained there until the 20th of March. They were visited, so far as the witness knows, during their stay at her house only by Booth, save that on a single occasion an unknown man came to see them, and remained with them over night. They told the witness they were in the "oil business." With Mudd, the guilty purpose was sought to be concealed by declaring that he was in the "land business;" with O'Laughlin and Arnold it was attempted to be concealed by pretense that they were in the "oil business." Booth, it is proved, had closed up all connection with the oil business last September. There is not a word of testimony to show that the accused, O'Laughlin and Arnold, ever invested or sought to invest, in any way or to any amount, in the oil business: their silly words betray them; they forget when they uttered that false statement that the truth is strong, next to the Almighty, and that their crime must find them out was the irrevocable and irresistible law of nature and of nature's God.

One of their co-conspirators, known as yet only to the guilty parties to this damnable plot and to the Infinite, who will unmask and avenge all blood-guiltiness, comes to bear witness, unwittingly, against them. This unknown conspirator, who dates his letter at South Branch Bridge, April 6, 1865, mailed and postmarked Cumberland, Maryland, and addressed to John Wilkes Booth, by his initials, "J. W. B., National Hotel, Washington, D. C.," was also in the "oil speculation." In that letter he says:—

"Friend Wilkes: I received yours of March 12, and reply as soon as practicable. I saw French, Brady, and others about the oil speculation. The subscription to the stock amounts to eight thousand dollars, and I add one thousand myself, which is about all I can stand. Now, when you sink your well, go deep enough; don't fail; everything depends upon you and your helpers. If you can not get through on your trip, after you strike oil, strike through Thornton Gap and across by Capon, Romney, and down the Branch. I can keep you safe from all hardships for a year. I am clear of all surveillance now that infernal Purdy is beat.

"I send this by Tom, and, if he don't get drunk, you will get it on the 9th. At all events, it can not be understood if lost.

"No more, only Jake will be at Green's with the funds. LON.

That this letter is not a fabrication is made apparent by the testimony of Purdy, whose name occurs in the letter. He testified that he had been a detective in the government service, and that he had been falsely accused, as the letter recites, and put under arrest; that there was a noted rebel by the name of Green, living at Thornton Georgia; that there was a servant, who drank, known as "Tom," in the neighborhood of South Branch Bridge; that there is an obscure route through the Gap, and as described in the letter; and that a man commonly called "Lon" lives at South Branch Bridge. If the Court are satisfied, and it is for them to judge, that this letter was written before the assassination, as it purports to have been, and on the day of its date, there can be no question with any one who reads it that the writer was in the conspiracy, and knew that the time of its execution drew nigh. If a conspirator, every word of its contents is evidence against every other party to this conspiracy.

Who can fail to understand this letter? His words "go deep enough," "don't fail," "everything depends on you and your helpers," "if you can't get through on your trip after you strike oil, strike through Thornton Gap," &c., and "I can keep you safe from all hardships for a year," necessarily imply that when he "strikes oil" there will be an occasion for a flight; that a trip, or route, has already been determined upon; that he may not be able to go through by that route; in which event he is to strike for Thornton Gap, and across by Capon and Romney, and down the Branch, for the shelter which his co-conspirator

offers him. "I am clear of all surveillance now." Does any one doubt that the man who wrote those words wished to assure Booth that he was no longer watched, and that Booth could safely hide with him from his pursuers? Does any one doubt, from the further expression in this letter, "Jake will be at Green's with the funds," that this was a part of the price of blood, or that the eight thousand dollars subscribed by others, and the one thousand additional, subscribed by the writer, were also a part of the price to be paid?

"The oil business" which was the declared business of O'Laughlin and Arnold, was the declared business of the infamous writer of this letter; was the declared business of John H. Surratt; was the declared business of Booth himself, as explained to Chester and Hess and Payne; was "the business" referred to in his telegrams to O'Laughlin, and meant the murder of the President, of his Cabinet, and of General Grant. The first of these telegrams is dated Washington, 13th of March, and is addressed to M. O. Laughlin, No 57 North Exeter street, Baltimore, Maryland, and is as follows: "Don't you fear to neglect your business; you had better come on at once. J. Booth." The telegraph operator, Hoffman, who sent this despatch from Washington, swears that John Wilkes Booth delivered it to him in person on the day of its date; and the handwriting of the original telegram is established beyond question to be that of Booth. The other telegram is dated Washington, March 27, addressed "M. O. Laughlin Esq., 57 North Exeter street, Baltimore, Maryland," and is as follows:—"Get word to Sam. Come on with or without him on Wednesday morning. We sell that day sure; don't fail. J. Wilkes Booth."

The original of this telegram is also proved to be in the handwriting of Booth. The same referred to in this last telegram was doubtless the murder of the President and others, the "oil speculation," in which the writer of the letter from South Branch Bridge, dated April 6, had taken a thousand dollars, and in which Booth said there was money, and Sanders said there was money, and Atzeroth said there was money. The words of this telegram, "get word to Sam," meaning Samuel Arnold, his co-conspirator; who had been with him during all his stay at Washington, at Mrs. Vantyne's. These parties to this conspiracy, after they had gone to Baltimore, had additional correspondence with Booth, which the Court must infer had relation to carrying out the purposes of their confederation and agreement. The colored witness, Williams, testifies that John Wilkes Booth handed him a letter for Michael O'Laughlin, and another for Samuel Arnold, in Baltimore, some time in March last; one of which he delivered to O'Laughlin at the theatre in Baltimore, and the other to a lady at the door where Arnold boarded in Baltimore.

Their agreement and co-operation in the common object having been thus established, the letter written to Booth by the prisoner Arnold, dated March 27, 1865, the handwriting of which is proved before the Court and which was found in Booth's possession after the assassination, becomes testimony against O'Laughlin, as well as against the writer, Arnold, because it is an act done in furtherance of their combination. That letter is as follows:

"Dear John:—Was business so important that you could not remain in Baltimore till I saw you? I came in as soon as I could, but found you had gone to Washington. I called also to see Mike, but learned from his mother that he had gone out with you and had not returned. I concluded, therefore, he had gone with you. How inconsiderate you have been! When I left you, you stated that we would not meet in a month or so, and therefore I made application for employment, an answer to which I shall receive during the week. I told my parents I had ceased with you. Can I, then, under existing circumstances, act as you request? You know full well that the Government suspects something is going on there, therefore the undertaking is becoming more complicated. Why not, for the present, desist? For various reasons, which, if you look into, you can readily see without my making mention, thereof, you, nor any one, can censure me for my present course. You have been its cause, for how can I now come after telling them I had left you? Suspicion rests upon me now from my whole family and even parties in the country.

"I will be compelled to leave home any how, and how soon I care not. None,



no not one, were more in favor of the enterprise than myself, and to-day would be there, had you not done as you have. By this, I mean manner of proceeding. I am, as you well know, in need. I am, you may say, in rags, whereas, to-day, I ought to be well clothed. I do not feel right stalking about with means, and more from appearances a beggar. I feel my dependence. But, even all this would have been, and was, forgotten, for I was one with you. Time more propitions will arrive yet. Do not act rashly or in haste. I would prefer your first query, 'Go and see how it will be taken in Richmond,' and ere long, I shall be better prepared to again be with you. I dislike writing. Would sooner verbally make known my views. Yet your now waiting causes me thus to proceed. Do not in anger peruse this. Weigh all I have said, and as a rational man and a friend, you can not censure or upbraid my conduct. I sincerely trust this, nor aught else that shall or may occur, will ever be an obstacle to obliterate our former friendship and attachment. Write me to Baltimore, as I expect to be in about Wednesday or Thursday; or, if you can possibly come on, I will Tuesday meet you at Baltimore at B.

"Ever, I subscribe myself, your friend,

"SAM."

Here is the confession of the prisoner Arnold, that he was one with Booth in this conspiracy; the further confession that they are suspected by the Government of their country, and the acknowledgment that, since they parted, Booth had communicated among other things, a suggestion which leads to the remark in this letter, "I would prefer your first query, 'Go see how it will be taken at Richmond,' and ere long I shall be better prepared to again be with you." This is a declaration that affects Arnold, Booth and O'Laughlin alike, if the Court are satisfied, and it is difficult to see how they can have doubt on the subject, that the matter to be referred to Richmond is the matter of the assassination of the President and others, to effect which these parties had previously agreed and conspired together. It is a matter in testimony, by the declaration of John H. Surratt, who is as clearly proved to have been in this conspiracy and murder as Booth himself, that about the very date of this letter, the 27th of March, upon the suggestion of Booth, and with his knowledge and consent, he went to Richmond, not only to see "how it would be taken there," but to get funds with which to carry out the enterprise, as Booth had already declared to Chester, in one of his last interviews, when he said that he or "some one of the party" would be constrained to go to Richmond for funds to carry out the conspiracy. Surratt returned from Richmond, bringing with him some part of the money for which he went, and was then going to Canada, and, as the testimony discloses, bringing with him the despatches from Jefferson Davis to his chief agents in Canada, which, as Thompson declared to Conover, made the proposed assassination "all right." Surratt, after seeing the parties here, left immediately for Canada, and delivered his despatches to Jacob Thompson, the agent of Jefferson Davis. This was done by Surratt upon the suggestion, or in exact accordance with the suggestion of Arnold, made on the 27th of March, in his letter to Booth, just read, and yet you are gravely told that four weeks before the 27th of March Arnold had abandoned the conspiracy.

Surratt reached Canada with these despatches, as we have seen, about the 6th or 7th of April last, when the witness, Conover, saw them delivered to Jacob Thompson, and heard their contents stated by Thompson, and the declaration from him that these despatches made it "all right." That Surratt was at that time in Canada, is not only established by the testimony of Conover, but it is also in evidence that he told Weichman, on the 3d of April, that he was going to Canada, and on that day left for Canada, and afterwards, two letters addressed by Surratt, over the fictitious signature of John Harrison, to his mother, and to Miss Ward, dated at Montreal, were received by them on the 14th of April, as testified by Weichman and by Miss Ward, a witness called for the defence. Thus it appears that the condition named by Arnold in his letter had been complied with. Booth had "gone to Richmond" in the person of Surratt, "to see how it would be taken." The rebel authorities at Richmond had approved it, the agent had returned; and Arnold was, in his own words, thereby the better prepared to join Booth in the prosecution of this conspiracy.

To this end Arnold went to Fortress Monroe. As his letter expressly declares, Booth said when they parted, "we would not meet in a month or so, and therefore I made application for employment—an answer to which I shall receive during the week." He did receive the answer that week from Fortress Monroe, and went there to await the "more propitious time," bearing with him the weapon of death which Booth had provided, and ready to obey his call, as the act had been approved at Richmond, and been made "all right." Acting upon the same fact that the conspiracy had been approved in Richmond, and the funds provided, O'Laughlin came to Washington to identify General Grant, the person who was to become the victim of his violence in the final consummation of this crime—General Grant whom, as is averred in the specification, it had become the part of O'Laughlin by his agreement in this conspiracy, to kill and murder.

On the evening preceding the assassination, the 13th of April, by the testimony of three reputable witnesses, against whose truthfulness not one word is uttered here or elsewhere, O'Laughlin went into the house of the Secretary of War, where General Grant then was, and placed himself in position in the hall where he could see him, having declared before he reached that point to one of these witnesses that he wished to see General Grant. The house was brilliantly illuminated at the time; two, at least, of the witnesses conversed with the accused, and the other stood very near to him, took special notice of his conduct, called attention to it, and suggested that he be put out of the house and he was accordingly put out by one of the witnesses. These witnesses are confident and have no doubt, and so swear upon their oaths, that Michael O'Laughlin is the man who was present on that occasion.

There is no denial on the part of the accused that he was in Washington during the day and during the night of April 13th, and also during the day and during the night of the 14th; and yet, to get rid of this testimony, recourse is had to that common device—an *alibi*: a device never, I may say, more frequently resorted to than in this trial. But what an *alibi*! Nobody is called to prove it, save some men who, by their own testimony, were engaged in a drunken debauch through the evening. A reasonable man who reads their evidence can hardly be expected to allow it to outweigh the united testimony of three unimpeached and unimpeachable witnesses, who were clear in their statements, who entertain no doubt of the truth of what they say, whose opportunities to know were full and complete, and who were constrained to take special notice of the prisoner by reason of his extraordinary conduct.

These witnesses describe accurately the appearance, stature and complexion of the accused, but, because they describe his clothing as dark or black, it is urged that as part of his clothing, although dark, was not black, the witnesses are mistaken. O'Laughlin and his drunken companions (one of whom swears he drank ten times that evening) were strolling in the streets and in the direction of the house of the Secretary of War up the avenue; but you are asked to believe that these witnesses could not be mistaken in saying they were not off the avenue, above Seventh street, or on K street. I venture to say that no man who reads their testimony can determine satisfactorily, all the places that were visited by O'Laughlin and his drunken associates that evening from seven to eleven P. M. All this time, from seven to eleven P. M., must be accounted for satisfactorily before an *alibi* can be established. Laughlin does not account for all the time, for he left O'Laughlin after seven o'clock, and rejoined him, as he says, "I suppose about eight o'clock." Grillet did not meet him until half-past ten, and then only casually saw him in passing the hotel. May not Grillet have been mistaken as to the fact, although he did meet O'Laughlin after eleven o'clock, the same evening as he swears?

Purdy swears to seeing him in the bar with Grillet about half-past ten, but, as we have seen by Grillet's testimony it must have been after eleven o'clock. Murphy contradicts, as to time, both Grillet and Purdy, for he says it was half-past eleven or twelve o'clock when he and O'Laughlin returned to Rullman's from Platz's; and Early swears the accused went from Rullman's to Second street to a dance, about a quarter past eleven o'clock, when O'Laughlin took the lead in the



dance, and stayed about one hour. I follow these witnesses no further. They contradict each other, and do not account for O'Laughlin all the time from seven to eleven o'clock. I repeat that no man can read their testimony without finding contradictions most material as to time, and coming to the conviction that they utterly fail to account for O'Laughlin's whereabouts on that evening. To establish an *alibi* the witnesses must know the fact and testify to it. O'Laughlin, Grillet, Purdy, Murphy and Earley utterly failed to prove it, and only succeed in showing that they did not know where O'Laughlin was all this time, and that some of them were grossly mistaken in what they testified, both as to time and place.

The testimony of James B. Henderson is equally unsatisfactory. He is contradicted by other testimony of the accused as to place. He says O'Laughlin went up the avenue above Seventh street, but that he did not go to Ninth street. The other witnesses swear he went to Ninth street. He swears he went to the Canterbury about 9 o'clock, after going back from Seventh street to Rullman's. Laughlin swears that O'Laughlin was with him at the corner of the avenue and Ninth street at 9 o'clock and went from there to Canterbury, while Early swears that O'Laughlin went up as far as Eleventh street, and returned and took supper with him at Welcker's about 8 o'clock. If these witnesses prove an *alibi*, it is really against each other. It is folly to pretend that they prove facts which make it impossible that O'Laughlin could have been at the house of Secretary Stanton, as three witnesses swear he was, on the evening of the 13th of April, looking for General Grant.

Has it not, by the testimony, thus reviewed, been established *prima facie* that in the months of February, March and April O'Laughlin had combined, confederated and agreed with John Wilkes Booth and Samuel Arnold to kill and murder Abraham Lincoln, William H. Seward, Andrew Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant? Is it not established, beyond a shadow of doubt, that Booth had so conspired with the Rebel agents in Canada as early as October last; that he was in search of agents to do the work on pay, in the interests of the Rebellion, and that in this speculation Arnold and O'Laughlin had joined as early as February, and then, and after, with Booth and Surratt, they were in the "oil business," which was the business of assassination by contract as a speculation? If this conspiracy on the part of O'Laughlin with Arnold is established even *prima facie*, the declarations and acts of Arnold and Booth, the other conspirators, in furtherance of the common design, is evidence against O'Laughlin as well as against Arnold himself or the other parties. The rule of law is that the act or declaration of one conspirator, done in pursuance or furtherance of the common design, is the act or declaration of all the conspirators. (1 Wharton; 706.)

The letter, therefore, of his co-conspirator, Arnold, is evidence against O'Laughlin, because it is an act in the prosecution of the common conspiracy, suggesting what should be done in order to make it effective, and which suggestion, as has been stated, was followed out. The defence has attempted to avoid the force of this letter by reciting the statement of Arnold, made to Horner at the time he was arrested, in which he declared, among other things, that the purpose was to abduct President Lincoln and take him South; that it was to be done at the theatre by throwing the President out of the box upon the floor of the stage, when the accused was to catch him. The very announcement of this testimony excited derision that such a tragedy meant only to take the President and carry him gently away! This pigny to catch the giant as the assassins hurled him to the floor from an elevation of twelve feet!

The Court has viewed the theatre, and must be satisfied that Booth, in leaping from the President's box, broke his limb. The Court can not fail to conclude that this statement of Arnold was but another silly device, like that of "the oil business" which, for the time being, he employed to hide from the knowledge of his captor the fact that the purpose was to murder the President. No man can, for a moment, believe that any one of these conspirators hoped or desired, by such a proceeding as that stated by this prisoner, to take the President alive, in the presence of thousands assembled in the theatre, after he had been thus thrown upon the floor of the stage, much less to carry him through the city, through the lines of

your army, and deliver him into the hands of the rebels. No such purpose was expressed or hinted at by the conspirators in Canada, who commissioned Booth to let these assassinations on contract. I shall waste not a moment more in combatting such an absurdity.

Arnold does confess that he was a conspirator with Booth in this purposed murder; that Booth had a letter of introduction to Dr. Mudd; that Booth, O'Laughlin, Atzeroth, Surratt, a man with an alias, "Mosby," and another whom he does not know, and himself were parties to this conspiracy, and that Booth had furnished them all with arms. He concludes this remarkable statement to Horner with the declaration that at that time, to wit: the first week of March, or four weeks before he went to Fortress Monroe, he left the conspiracy, and that Booth told him to sell his arms if he chose. This is sufficiently answered by the fact that four weeks afterwards, he wrote his letter to Booth, which was found in Booth's possession after the assassination, suggesting to him what to do in order to make the conspiracy a success, and by the further fact that at the very moment he uttered these declarations, part of his arms were found upon his person, and the rest not disposed of, but at his father's house.

A party to a treasonable and murderous conspiracy against the Government of his country can not be held to have abandoned it because he makes such a declaration as this, when he is in the hands of the officer of the law; arrested for his crime, and especially when his declaration is in conflict with and expressly contradicted by his written acts, and unsupported by any conduct of his which becomes a citizen and a man.

If he abandoned the conspiracy, why did he not make known the fact to Abraham Lincoln and his constitutional advisers that these men, armed with the weapons of assassination, were daily lying in wait for their lives? To pretend that a man who thus conducts himself for weeks after the pretended abandonment, volunteering advice for the successful prosecution of the conspiracy, the evidence of which is in writing, and about which there can be no mistake, has, in fact, abandoned it, is to insult the common understanding of men. O'Laughlin having conspired with Arnold to do this murder, is, therefore, as much concluded by the letter of Arnold of the 27th of March as is Arnold himself.

The further testimony touching O'Laughlin, that of Street, establishes the fact that about the 1st of April he saw him in confidential conversation with J. Wilkes Booth, in this city, on the Avenue. Another man, whom the witness does not know, was in conversation. O'Laughlin called Street to one side, and told him Booth was busily engaged with his friend, was talking privately to his friend. This remark of O'Laughlin's is attempted to be accounted for, but the attempt failed; his counsel taking the pains to ask what induced O'Laughlin to make the remark, received the fit reply—"I did not see the interior of Mr. O'Laughlin's mind; I can not tell." It is the province of this Court to infer why that remark was made, and what it signified.

That John H. Surratt, George A. Atzeroth, Mary E. Surratt, David E. Harold, and Lewis Payne, entered into this conspiracy with Booth, is so very clear upon this testimony, that little time need be occupied in bringing again before the Court the evidence which establishes it. By the testimony of Weichman we find Atzeroth in February at the house of the prisoner, Mrs. Surratt. He enquired for her or for John when he came, and remained over night. After this, and before the assassination, he visited there frequently, and at that house bore the name of "Port Tobacco," the name by which he was known in Canada among the conspirators there. The same witness testifies that he met him on the street, when he said he was going to visit Payne at the Herndon House, and also accompanied him, along with Harold and John H. Surratt to the theater in March, to see Booth play in the *Apostate*.

At the Pennsylvania House, one or two weeks previous to the assassination, Atzeroth made the statement to Lieutenant Keim, when asking for his knife which he had left in his room, a knife corresponding in size with the one exhibited in Court, "I want that; if one fails I want the other," wearing at the same time his



revolver at his belt. He also stated to Greenawalt, of the Pennsylvania House, in March, that he was nearly broke, but had friends enough to give him as much money as would see him through, adding, "I am going away some of these days, but will return with as much gold as will keep me all my life-time." Mr. Greenawalt also says that Booth had frequent interviews with Atzeroth, sometimes in the room, and at other times Booth would walk in and immediately go out, Atzeroth following.

John M. Floyd testifies that some six weeks before the assassination, Harold, Atzeroth and John H. Surratt came to his house at Surrattsville, bringing with them two Spencer earbines, with ammunition, also a rope and wrench. Surratt asked the witness to take care of them and to conceal the carbines. Surratt took him into a room in the house, it being his mother's house, and showed the witness where to put the earbines, between the joists on the second floor. The carbines were put there according to his directions and concealed. Marcus P. Norton saw Atzeroth in conversation with Booth at the National Hotel about the 2d or 3d of March; the conversation was confidential, and the witness accidentally heard them talking in regard to President Johnson, and say that "the class of witnesses would be of that character that there could be little proven by them." This conversation may throw some light on the fact that Atzeroth was found in possession of Booth's bank book!

Colonel Nevens testifies that on the 12th of April last he saw Atzeroth at the Kirkwood House; that Atzeroth there asked him, a stranger, if he knew where Vice President Johnson was, and where Johnson's room was. Colonel Nevens showed him where the room of the Vice President was, and told him that the Vice President was then at dinner. Atzeroth then looked into the dining-room, where Vice President Johnson was dining alone. Robert R. Jones, the clerk at the Kirkwood House, states that on the 14th, the day of the murder, two days after this, Atzeroth registered his name at the hotel, G. A. Atzeroth, and took No. 126, retaining the room that day, and carrying away the key. In this room, after the assassination, were found the knife and revolver, with which he intended to murder the Vice President.

The testimony of all these witnesses leaves no doubt that the prisoner, George A. Atzeroth, entered into this conspiracy with Booth; that he expected to receive a large compensation for the services that he would render in its execution; that he had undertaken the assassination of the Vice President for a price; that he, with Surratt and Harold, rendered the important service of depositing the arms and ammunition to be used by Booth and his confederates as a protection to their flight after the conspiracy had been executed, and that he was careful to have his intended victim pointed out to him, and the room he occupied in the hotel, so that, when he came to perform his horrid work, he would know precisely where to go and whom to strike.

I take no further notice now of the preparation which this prisoner made for the successful execution of this part of the traitorous and murderous design. The question is, did he enter into this conspiracy? His language, overheard by Mr Norton, excludes every other conclusion. Vice President Johnson's name was mentioned in that secret conversation with Booth, and the very suggestive expression was made between them that "little could be proved by the witnesses." His confession in his defense is conclusive of his guilt.

That Payne was in this conspiracy is confessed in the defense made by his counsel, and is also evident from the facts proved, that when the conspiracy was being organized in Canada, by Thompson, Sanders, Tucker, Cleary, and Clay, this man Payne stood at the door of Thompson: was recommended and endorsed by Clay with the words. "We trust him;" that after coming hither he first reported himself at the house of Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, inquired for her and for John H. Surratt, remained there for four days, having conversation with both of them; having provided himself with means of disguise, was also supplied with pistols and a knife, such as he afterwards used, and spurs, preparatory to his flight; was seen with John H. Surratt, practicing with knives such as those employed in this deed of assassina-

tion, and now before the Court; was afterwards provided with lodging at the Herndon House, at the instance of Surratt; was visited there by Atzeroth, attended Booth and Surratt to Ford's Theatre, occupying with those parties the box, as I believe, and which we may readily infer, in which the President was afterwards murdered.

If further testimony be wanting that he had entered into the conspiracy, it may be found in the fact sworn to by Weichman, whose testimony no candid man will discredit, that about the 20th of March Mrs. Surratt, in great excitement, and weeping, said that her son John had gone away not to return, when about three hours subsequently, in the afternoon of the same day, John H. Surratt reappeared, came rushing in a state of frenzy into the room, in his mother's house, armed, declaring he would shoot whoever came into the room, and proclaiming that his prospects were blasted and his hopes gone; that soon Payne came into the same room, also armed and under great excitement, and was immediately followed by Booth, with his riding whip in his hand, who walked rapidly across the floor from side to side, so much excited that for some time he did not notice the presence of the witness. Observing Weichman, the parties then withdrew, upon a suggestion from Booth, to an upper room, and there had a private interview. From all that transpired on that occasion it is apparent that when these parties left the house that day it was with the full purpose of completing some act essential to the final execution of the work of assassination, in conformity with their previous confederation and agreement. They returned foiled, from what cause is unknown, dejected, angry and covered with confusion.

It is almost imposing upon the patience of the Court to consume time in demonstrating the fact, which none conversant with the testimony of this case can for a moment doubt, that John H. Surratt and Mary E. Surratt were as surely in the conspiracy to murder the President as John Wilkes Booth himself. You have the frequent interviews between John H. Surratt and Booth; his intimate relations with Payne; his visits from Atzeroth and Harold; his deposit of the arms to cover their flight after the conspiracy should have been executed; his own declared visit to Richmond to do what Booth himself said to Chester must be done, to wit: That he or some of the party must go to Richmond in order to get funds to carry out the conspiracy; that he brought back with him gold, the price of blood, confessing himself that he was there; that he immediately went to Canada, delivered despatches in cipher to Jacob Thompson from Jefferson Davis, which were interpreted and read by Thompson in the presence of the witness Conover, and in which the conspiracy was approved, and in the language of Thompson the proposed assassination was "made all right."

One other fact, if any other fact be needed, and I have done with the evidence which proves that John H. Surratt entered into this combination; that is, that it appears by the testimony of the witness, the cashier of the Ontario Bank, Montreal, that Jacob Thompson, about the day these despatches were delivered, and while Surratt was then present in Canada, drew from that Bank of the Rebel funds there on deposit, the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand dollars. This being done, Surratt finding it safer, doubtless, to go to Canada for the great bulk of funds, which were to be distributed among these hired assassins than to attempt to carry it through our lines direct from Richmond, immediately returned to Washington, and was present in this city, as is proven by the testimony of Mr. Reid, on the afternoon of the 14th of April, the day of the assassination, booted and spurred, ready for the flight whenever the fatal blow should have been struck.

If he was not a conspirator and a party to this great crime, how comes it that from that hour to this no man has seen him in the Capital, nor has he been reported anywhere outside of Canada, having arrived at Montreal, as the testimony shows, on the 18th of April, four days after the murder. Nothing but his conscious cowardly guilt could possibly induce him to absent himself from his mother, as he does, upon her trial. Being one of these conspirators, as charged, every act of his in the prosecution of this crime is evidence against the other parties to the conspiracy.

That Mary E. Surratt is as guilty as her son of having thus conspired, combined



and confederated to do this murder, in aid of this Rebellion, is clear. First, her house was the head-quarters of Booth, John H. Surratt, Atzeroth, Payne and Harold. She is inquired for by Atzeroth; she is inquired for by Payne, and she is visited by Booth, and holds private conversations with him. His picture, together with that of the chief conspirator, Jefferson Davis, is found in her house. She sends to Booth for a carriage to take her, on the 11th of April, to Surrattsville, for the purpose of perfecting the arrangement deemed necessary to the successful execution of the conspiracy, and especially to facilitate and protect the conspirators in their escape from justice. On that occasion Booth, having disposed of his carriage, gives to the agent she employed ten dollars with which to hire a conveyance for that purpose.

And yet the pretence is made that Mrs. Surratt went on the 11th to Surrattsville exclusively upon her own private and lawful business. Can any one tell, if that be so, how it comes that she should apply to Booth for a conveyance, and how it comes that he, of his own accord, having no conveyance to furnish her, should send her ten dollars with which to procure it? There is not the slightest indication that Booth was under any obligation to her, or that she had any claim upon him, either for a conveyance or for the means with which to procure one, except that he was bound to contribute, being the agent of the conspirators in Canada and Richmond, whenever money might be necessary to the consummation of this infernal plot. On that day, the 11th of April, John H. Surratt had not returned from Canada with the funds furnished by Thompson.

Upon that journey of the 11th, the accused, Mary E. Surratt, met the witness, John M. Floyd, at Uniontown. She called him, he got out of his carriage and came to her, and she whispered to him in so low a tone that her attendant could not hear the words, though Floyd, to whom they were spoken, did distinctly hear them, and testifies that she told him he should have those "shooting irons" ready, meaning the carbines which her son and Harold and Atzeroth had deposited with him, and added the reason, "for they would soon be called for." On the day of the assassination she again sent for Booth, had an interview with him in her own house, and immediately went again to Surrattsville, and then, at about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, she delivered to Floyd a field-glass, and told him to "have two bottles of whisky and the carbines ready, as they would be called for that night."

Having thus perfected the arrangement, she returned to Washington to her own house, at about half-past eight o'clock in the evening to await the final result. How could this woman anticipate on Friday afternoon, at six o'clock, that these arms would be called for and would be needed that night, unless she was in the conspiracy and knew that the blow was to be struck, and the flight of the assassins attempted, and by that route? Was not the private conversation which Booth held with her in her parlor on the afternoon of the 14th of April, just before she left on this business, in relation to the orders she should give to have the arms ready?

An endeavor is made to impeach Floyd. But the Court will observe that no witness has been called who contradicts Floyd's statement in any material manner, neither has his general character for truth been assailed. How then is he impeached? Is it claimed that his testimony shows that he was a party to the conspiracy? Then it is conceded by those who set up any such pretence that there was a conspiracy. A conspiracy between whom? There can be no conspiracy without the co-operation or agreement of two or more persons. Who were the other parties to it? Was it Mary E. Surratt? Was it John H. Surratt, George A. Atzeroth, David E. Harold? These are the only persons, so far as his own testimony or the testimony of any other witness discloses, with whom he had any communication whatever on any subject immediately or remotely touching this conspiracy before the assassination. His receipt and concealment of the arms are, unexplained, evidence that he was in the conspiracy.

The explanation is, that he was dependent upon Mary E. Surratt; was her tenant; and his declaration given in evidence by the accused himself, is, that "she had ruined him, and brought this trouble upon him." But because he was weak enough, or wicked enough, to become the guilty depositary of these arms, and to deliver

them on the order of Mary E. Surratt to the assassins, it does not follow that he is not to be believed on oath. It is said that he concealed the facts that the arms had been left and called for. He so testifies himself, but he gives the reason that he did it only from apprehension of danger to his life. If he were in the conspiracy, his general credit being unchallenged, his testimony being uncontradicted in any material manner, he is to be believed, and can not be disbelieved, if his testimony is substantially corroborated by other reliable witnesses. Is he not corroborated touching the deposit of arms by the fact that the arms are produced in Court? one of which was found upon the person of Booth at the time he was overtaken and slain, and which is identified as the same which had been left with Floyd by Harold, Surratt and Atzeroth? Is he not corroborated in the fact of the first interview with Mrs. Surratt by the joint testimony of Mrs. Offut and Lewis J. Weichman, each of whom testified, and they are contradicted by no one, that on Tuesday, the 11th day of April; at Uniontown, Mrs. Surratt called Floyd to come to her, which he did, and she held a secret conversation with him? Is he not corroborated as to the last conversation, on the 14th of April, by the testimony of Mrs. Offut, who swears, that upon the evening of the 14th of April she saw the prisoner, Mary E. Surratt, at Floyd's house, approach and hold conversation with him? Is he not corroborated in the fact to which he swears, that Mrs. Surratt delivered to him at that time the field-glass wrapped in paper, by the sworn statement of Weichman, that Mrs. Surratt took with her on that occasion two packages, both of which were wrapped in paper, and one of which he describes as a small package, about six inches in diameter? The attempt was made, by calling Mrs. Offut to prove that no such package was delivered, but it failed; she merely states, that Mrs. Surratt delivered a package wrapped in paper to her after her arrival there, and before Floyd came in, which was laid down in the room. But whether it was the package about which Floyd testifies, or the other package of the two about which Weichman testifies, as having been carried there that day by Mrs. Surratt, does not appear. Neither does this witness pretend to say that Mrs. Surratt, after she had delivered it to her, and the witness had laid it down in the room, did not again take it up, if it were the same, and put it in the hands of Floyd. She only knows that she did not see that done; but she did see Floyd with a package like the one she received in the room before Mrs. Surratt left. How it came into his possession she is not able to state; nor what the package was that Mrs. Surratt first handed her; nor which of the packages it was she afterwards saw in the hands of Floyd.

But there is one other fact in this case that puts forever at rest the question of the guilty participation of the prisoner, Mrs. Surratt, in the conspiracy and murder; and that is that Payne, who had lodged four days in her house; who during all that time had sat at her table, and who had often conversed with her; when the guilt of his great crime was upon him, and he knew not where else he could so safely go to find a co-conspirator, and he could trust none that was not like himself, guilty, with even the knowledge of his presence; under cover of darkness, after wandering for three days and nights, skulking before the pursuing officers of justice, at the hour of midnight, found his way to the door of Mrs. Surratt, rang the bell, was admitted, and upon being asked, "whom do you want to see?" replied, "Mrs. Surratt." He was then asked by the officer, Morgan, what he came at that time of night for? to which he replied, "to dig a gutter in the morning; Mrs. Surratt had sent for him." Afterwards he said, "Mrs. Surratt knew he was a poor man, and *came to him.*"

Being asked where he worked, he replied, "sometimes on I street;" and where he boarded, he replied, "he had no boarding-house, and was a poor man who got his living with the pick," which he bore upon his shoulder, having stolen it from the intrenchments of the capital. Upon being pressed again why he came there at that time of night to go to work, he answered that he simply called to see what time he should go to work in the morning. Upon being told by the officer, who fortunately had preceded him to this house, that he would have to go to the Provost Marshal's office, he moved and did not answer; whereupon Mrs. Surratt was



asked to step into the hall and state whether she knew this man. Raising her right hand she exclaimed, "Before God, sir, I have not seen that man before; I have not hired him; I do not know anything about him." The hall was brilliantly lighted.

If not one word had been said, the mere act of Payne in flying to her house for shelter would have borne witness against her strong as proofs from Holy Writ. But when she denies, after hearing his declarations that she had sent for him, or that she had gone to him and hired him, and calls her God to witness that she had never seen him, and knew nothing of him, when, in point of fact, she had seen him for four successive days in her own house, in the same clothing which he then wore, who can resist for a moment the conclusion that these parties were alike guilty?

The testimony of Spangler's complicity is conclusive and brief. It was impossible to hope for escape after assassinating the President, and such others as might attend him in Ford's Theatre, without arrangements being first made to aid the flight of the assassin, and to some extent prevent the immediate pursuit.

A stable was to be provided close to Ford's Theatre, in which the horses could be concealed and kept ready for the assassin's use whenever the murderous blow was struck. Accordingly, Booth secretly, through Maddox, hired a stable in rear of the theatre and connecting with it by an alley, as early as the 1st of January last; showing that at that time he had concluded, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, to murder the President in Ford's Theatre and provide the means for immediate and successful flight. Conscious of his guilt he paid the rent for this stable, through Maddox, month by month, giving him the money. He employed Spangler, doubtless for the reason that he could trust him with the secret, as a carpenter to fit up this shed, so that it would furnish room for two horses and provided the door with lock and key. Spangler did this work for him. Then it was necessary that a carpenter, having access to the theatre, should be employed by the assassin to provide a bar for the outer door of the passage leading to the President's box, so that when he entered upon his work of assassination, he would be secure from interruption from the rear.

By the evidence, it is shown that Spangler was in the box, in which the President was murdered, on the afternoon of the 14th of April, and when there damned the President and General Grant, and said the President ought to be cursed, he had got so many good men killed; showing not only his hostility to the President, but the cause of it, that he had been faithful to his oath and had resisted that great rebellion in the interest of which his life was about to be sacrificed by his co-conspirators. In performing the work which had doubtless been intrusted to him by Booth, a mortice was cut in the wall. A wooden bar was prepared, one end of which could be readily inserted in the mortice and the other pressed against the edge of the door on the inside so as to prevent its being opened. Spangler had the skill and opportunity to do that work and all the additional work that was to be done.

It is in evidence that the screws in "the keepers" to the locks on each of the inner doors of the the box occupied by the President were drawn. The attempt has been made, on behalf of the prisoner, to show that this was done some time before, accidentally, and with no bad design, and had not been repaired by reason of inadvertence; but the attempt has utterly failed, because the testimony adduced for that purpose relates exclusively to but one of the two inner doors, while the fact is, that the screws were drawn in both, and the additional precaution taken to cut a small hole through one of these doors through which the party approaching and while in the private passage would be enabled to look into the box and examine the exact posture of the President before entering. It was also deemed essential, in the execution of this plot, that some one should watch at the outer door, in the rear of the theatre, by which alone the assassin could hope for escape. It was for this work Booth sought to employ Chester in January, offering \$3,000 down of the money of his employers, and the assurance that he should never want.

What Chester refused, Spangler undertook and promised to do. When Booth

brought his horse to the rear door of the theatre, on the evening of the murder, he called for Spangler, who went to him, when Booth was heard to say to him, "Ned, you'll help me all you can, won't you." To which Spangler replied, "Oh, yes." when Booth made his escape, it is testified by Col. Stewart, who pursued him across the stage and out through the same door, that as he approached it some one slammed it shut. Ritterspaugh, who was standing behind the scenes when Booth fired the pistol and fled, saw Booth run down the passage toward the back door, and pursued him; but Booth drew his knife upon him and passed out, slamming the door after him. Ritterspaugh opened it and went through, leaving it open behind him, leaving Spangler inside, and a position from which he readily could have reached the door. Ritterspaugh also states, that very quickly after he had passed through this door he was followed by a large man, the first who followed him, and who was, doubtless, Colonel Stewart. Stewart is very positive that he saw this door slammed; that he himself was constrained to open it, and had some difficulty in opening it.

He also testifies that as he approached the door a man stood near enough to have thrown it to with his hand, and this man, the witness believes, was the prisoner Spangler. Ritterspaugh has sworn that he left the door open behind him when he went out, and that he was followed by the large man, Colonel Stewart. Who slammed that door behind Ritterspaugh? It was not Ritterspaugh; it could not have been Booth, for Ritterspaugh swears that Booth was mounting his horse at the time, and Stewart swears that Booth was upon his horse when he came out. That it was Spangler who slammed the door after Ritterspaugh may not only be inferred from Stewart's testimony, but it is made very clear by his own conduct afterward upon the return of Ritterspaugh to the stage. The door being then open, and Ritterspaugh being asked which way Booth went, had answered. Ritterspaugh says: "Then I came back on the stage, where I had left Edward Spangler: he hit me on the face with his hand, and said, 'Don't say which way he went.' I asked him what he meant by slapping me in the mouth? He said, 'For God's sake, shut up.'"

The testimony of Withers is adroitly handled to throw doubt upon these facts. It can not avail, for Withers says he was knocked in the scene by Booth, and when he "came to" he got a side view of him. A man knocked down and senseless, on "coming to" might mistake anybody by a side view, for Booth.

An attempt has been made by the defense to discredit this testimony of Ritterspaugh, by showing his contradictory statements to Gifford, Carlan, and Lamb, neither of whom do in fact contradict him, but substantially sustain him. None but a guilty man would have met the witness with a blow for stating which way the assassin had gone. A like confession of guilt was made by Spangler when the witness, Miles, the same evening, and directly after the assassination, came to the back door, where Spangler was standing with others, and asked Spangler who it was that held the horse, to which Spangler replied:—"Hush; don't say anything about it." He confessed his guilt again when he denied to Mary Anderson the fact, proved here beyond all question, that Booth had called him when he came to that door with his horse, using the emphatic words, "No, he did not; he did not call me."

The rope comes to bear witness against him, as did the rope which Atzeroth and Harold and John H. Surratt had carried to Surrattsville and deposited there with the carbines.

It is only surprising that the ingenious counsel did not attempt to explain the deposit of the rope at Surrattsville by the same method that he adopted in explanation of the deposit of this rope, some sixty feet long, found in the carpet-sack of Spangler, unaccounted for, save by some evidence which tends to show that he may have carried it away from the theater.

It is not needful to take time in the recapitulation of the evidence, which shows conclusively that David E. Harold was one of these conspirators. His continued association with Booth, with Atzeroth, his visits to Mrs. Surratt's, his attendance at the theater with Payne, Surratt, and Atzeroth, his connection with Atzeroth on the evening of the murder, riding with him on the street in the di-



rection of and near to the theater at the hour appointed for the work of assassination, and his final flight and arrest, show that he, in common with all the other parties on trial, and all the parties named upon your record not upon trial, had combined and confederated to kill and murder in the interests of the rebellion, as charged and specified against them.

That this conspiracy was entered into by all these parties, both present and absent, is thus proved by the acts, meetings, declarations, and correspondence of all the parties, beyond any doubt whatever. True, it is circumstantial evidence, but the Court will remember the rule before recited that circumstances can not lie; that they are held sufficient in every court where justice is judiciously administered to establish the fact of a conspiracy.

I shall take no further notice of the remark made by the learned counsel who opened for the defense, and which has been followed by several of his associates, that, under the Constitution, it requires two witnesses to prove the overt act of high treason, than to say, this is not a charge of high treason, but of a treasonable conspiracy, in aid of a rebellion, with intent to kill and murder the Executive officer of the United States, and commander of its armies, and of the murder of the President in pursuance of that conspiracy, and with the intent laid, &c. Neither by the Constitution, nor by the rules of the common law, is any fact connected with this allegation required to be established by the testimony of more than one witness. I might say, however, that every substantive averment against each of the parties named upon this record has been established by the testimony of more than one witness.

That the several accused did enter into this conspiracy with John Wilkes Booth and John H. Surratt to murder the officers of this Government, named upon the record, in pursuance of the wishes of their employers and instigators in Richmond and Canada, and with intent thereby to aid the existing rebellion, and subvert the Constitution and laws of the United States, as alleged, is no longer an open question.

The intent as said, was expressly declared by Sanders in the meeting of the conspirators at Montreal, in February last; by Booth in Virginia and New York, and by Thompson to Conover and Montgomery; but if there were no testimony directly upon this point, the law would presume the intent, for the reason that such was the natural and necessary tendency and manifest design of the act itself.

The learned gentleman (Mr. Johnson) says the Government has survived the assassination of the President, and thereby would have you infer that this conspiracy was not entered into and attempted to be executed with the intent laid. With as much show of reason it might be said that because the Government of the United States has survived this unmatched rebellion, it therefore results that the rebel conspirators waged war upon the Government with no purpose or intent thereby to subvert it. By the law we have seen that without any direct evidence of previous combination and agreement between these parties, the conspiracy might be established by evidence of the acts of the prisoners, or of any others with whom they co-operated, concurring in the execution of the common design. (Roscoe, 416.)

Was there co-operation between the several accused in the execution of this conspiracy? That there was is as clearly established by the testimony as is the fact that Abraham Lincoln was killed and murdered by John Wilkes Booth. The evidence shows that all of the accused, save Mudd and Arnold, were in Washington on the 14th of April, the day of the assassination, together with John Wilkes Booth and John H. Surratt; that on that day Booth had a secret interview with the prisoner, Mary E. Surratt; that immediately thereafter she went to Surrattsville to perform her part of the preparation necessary to the successful execution of the conspiracy, and did make that preparation; that John H. Surratt had arrived here from Canada, notifying the parties that the price to be paid for this great crime had been provided for, at least in part, by the deposit receipts of April 6, for \$180,000, procured by Thompson, of the Ontario Bank, Montreal Canada; that he was also prepared to keep watch, or



strike a blow, and ready for the contemplated flight; that Atzeroth on the afternoon of that day, was seeking to obtain a horse, the better to secure his own safety by flight after he should have performed the task which he had voluntarily undertaken by contract, in the conspiracy—the murder of Andrew Johnson, then Vice-President of the United States; that he did procure a horse for that purpose at Naylor's, and was seen, about nine o'clock in the evening, to ride to the Kirkwood House where the Vice-President then was, dismount and enter.

At a previous hour Booth was in the Kirkwood House; and left his card, now in evidence, doubtless intended to be sent to the room of the Vice-President, and was in these words: "Don't wish to disturb you. Are you at home? J. Wilkes Booth." Atzeroth, when he made application at Brooks' in the afternoon for the horse, said to Weichman, who was there, he was going to ride in the country, and that "he was going to get a horse and send for Payne." He did get a horse for Payne, as well as for himself; for it is proven that on the 12th he was seen in Washington, riding the horse which had been procured by Booth, in company with Mudd, last November, from Gardner. A similar horse was tied before the door of Mr. Seward on the night of the murder, was captured after the flight of Payne, who was seen to ride away, and which horse is now identified as the Gardner horse. Booth also procured a horse on the same day, took it to his stable in the rear of the theater, where he had an interview with Spangler, and where he concealed it. Harold, too, obtained a horse in the afternoon, and was seen between nine and ten o'clock, riding with Atzeroth down the Avenue from the Treasury, then up Fourteenth and down F street, passing close by Ford's Theater.

O'Laughlin had come to Washington the day before, had sought out his victim (General Grant) at the house of the Secretary of War, that he might be able with certainty to identify him, and at the very hour when these preparations were going on, was lying in wait at Rullman's, on the Avenue, keeping watch, and declaring, as he did at about ten o'clock P. M., when told that the fatal blow had been struck by Booth, "I don't believe Booth did it." During the day, and the night before, he had been visiting Booth, and doubtless encouraging him, and at that very hour was in position, at a convenient distance, "to aid and protect him in his flight, as well as to execute his own part of the conspiracy by inflicting death upon General Grant, who happily was not at the theater, nor in the city, having left the city that day. Who doubts that Booth, having ascertained in the course of the day that General Grant could not be present at the theater. O'Laughlin, who was to murder General Grant, instead of entering the box with Booth, was detailed to lie in wait, and watch and support him.

His declarations of his reasons for changing his lodgings here and in Baltimore, after the murder, so ably, and so ingeniously presented in the argument of his learned counsel (Mr. Cox), avail nothing before the blasting fact, that he did change his lodgings, and declared "he knew nothing of the affair whatever." O'Laughlin, who lurked here, conspiring daily with Booth and Arnold for six weeks to do this murder, declares "he knew nothing of the affair." O'Laughlin, who says he was "in the oil business," which Booth, and Surratt, and Payne, and Arnold, have all declared meant this conspiracy, says "he knew nothing of the affair." O'Laughlin, to whom Booth sent the despatches of the 13th and 27th of March; O'Laughlin, who is named in Arnold's letter as one of the conspirators, and who searched for General Grant on Thursday night, laid in wait for him on Friday, was defeated by that Providence "which shapes our ends," and laid in wait to aid Booth and Payne, declares "he knew nothing of the matter." Such a denial is as false and inexcusable as Peter's denial of our Lord.

Mrs. Surratt had arrived at home from the completion of her part of the plot, about half-past eight o'clock in the evening. A few moments afterwards she was called to the parlor, and there had a private interview with some one unseen, but whose retreating footsteps were heard by the witness Weichman. This was doubtless the secret and last visit of John H. Surratt to his mother, who



had instigated and encouraged him to strike this traitorous and murderous blow against his country.

While these preparations were going on, Dr. Mudd was awaiting the execution of the plot, ready faithfully to perform his part in securing the safe escape of the murderer. Arnold was at his post at Fortress Monroe, awaiting the meeting referred to in his letter of March 27th, wherein he says they were not to "meet for a month or so," which month had more than expired on the day of the murder, for the letter and the testimony disclose that this month of suspension began to run from about the first week in March.

He stood ready with the arms which Booth had furnished him to aid the escape of the murderers by that route, and secure their communication with their employers. He had given the assurance in that letter to Booth, that, although the Government "suspicioned them" and the undertaking was "becoming complicated," yet "a time more propitious would arrive" for the consummation of this conspiracy, in which he "was one" with Booth, and then he would "be better prepared to again be with him."

Such were the preparations. The horses were in readiness for the flight; the ropes were procured, doubtless for the purpose of tying the horses at whatever point they might be constrained to delay and secure their boats to their moorings in making their way across the Potomac. The five murderous camp-knives, the two carbines, the eight revolvers, the Derringer, in Court, and identified, all were ready for the work of death. The part that each had played has already been in part stated in this argument, and needs no repetition.

Booth proceeded to the theater about nine o'clock in the evening, at the same time that Atzeroth, and Payne, and Harold were riding the streets, while Surratt, having parted with his mother at the brief interview in her parlor, from which his retreating steps were heard, was walking the Avenue, booted and spurred, and doubtless consulting with O'Laughlin. When Booth reached the rear of the theatre, he called Spangler to him (whose denial of that fact, when charged with it, as proven by three witnesses, is very significant), and received from Spangler his pledge to help him all he could. When with Booth he entered the theater by the stage door, doubtless to see that the way was clear from the box to the rear door of the theater, and look upon their victim, whose exact position they could study from the stage. After this view Booth passes to the street, in front of the theater, where on the pavement, with other conspirators yet unknown—among them one described as a low-browed villain—he awaits the appointed moment. Booth himself, impatient, enters the vestibule of the theater from the front, and asks the time. He is referred to the clock, and returns: Presently, as the hour of ten o'clock approached, one of his guilty associates called the time; they wait; again, as the moments elapsed, this conspirator on watch called the time; again, as the appointed hour draws nigh, he calls the time; and finally, when the fatal moment arrives, he repeats in a louder tone, "Ten minutes past ten o'clock." Ten minutes past ten o'clock! The hour has come when the red right hand of these murderous conspirators should strike, and the dreadful deed of assassination be done.

Booth, at the appointed moment, entered the theater, ascended to the dress-circle, passed to the right, paused a moment, looking down, doubtless to see if Spangler was at his post, and approached the outer door of the close passage leading to the box occupied by the President; pressed it open, passed in, and closed the passage door behind him. Spangler's bar was in its place, and was readily adjusted by Booth in the mortice, and pressed against the inner side of the door, so that he was secure from interruption from without. He passes on to the next door, immediately behind the President, and there stopping, looks through the aperture in the door into the President's box, and deliberately observes the precise position of his victim, seated in the chair which had been prepared by the conspirators as the altar for the sacrifice, looking calmly and quietly down upon the glad and grateful people, whom, by his fidelity, he had saved from peril which had threatened the destruction of their Government, and all they held dear this side of the grave, and whom he had come upon invitation



to greet with his presence, with the words still lingering upon his lips which he had uttered with uncovered head and uplifted hand before God and his country, when on the 4th of last March, he took again the oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution, declaring that he entered upon the duties of his great office, "with malice toward none, with charity for all." In a moment more, strengthened by the knowledge that his co-conspirators were all at their posts, seven at least of them present in the city, two of them, Mudd and Arnold, at their appointed places, watching for his coming, this hired assassin moves stealthily through the door, the fastenings of which had been removed to facilitate his entrance, fires upon his victim, and the martyr spirit of Abraham Lincoln ascends to God.

Treason has done his worst ; nor steel, nor poison,  
Malice, domestic, foreign levy, nothing  
Can touch him further.

At the same hour, when these accused and their co-conspirators in Richmond and Canada, by the hand of John Wilkes Booth inflicted this mortal wound which deprived the Republic of its defender, and filled this land from ocean to ocean with a strange, great sorrow, Payne, a very demon in human form, with the words of falsehood upon his lips, that he was the bearer of a message from the physician of the venerable Secretary of State, sweeps by his servant, encounters his son, who protests that the assassin shall not disturb his father, prostrate on a bed of sickness, and receives for answer the assassin's blow from the revolver in his hand, repeated again and again, rushes into the room, is encountered by Major Seward. inflicts wound after wound upon him with his murderous knife, is encountered by Hansell and Robinson, each of whom he also wounds, springs upon the defenseless and feeble Secretary of State, stabs first on one side of his throat, then on the other, again in the face, and is only prevented from literally hacking out his life by the persistence and courage of the attendant Robinson. He turns to flee, and his giant arm and murderous hand for a moment paralyzed by the consciousness of guilt, he drops his weapon of death, one in the house, the other at the door, where they were taken up, and are here now to bear witness against him. He attempts escape on the horse which Booth and Mudd had procured of Gardner, with what success has already been stated.

Atzeroth, near midnight, returns to the stable of Naylor the horse which he had procured for this work of murder, having been interrupted in the execution of the part assigned him at the Kirkwood House by the timely coming of citizens to the defence of the Vice-President, and creeps into the Pennsylvania House at 2 o'clock in the morning with another of the conspirators, yet unknown. There he remained until 5 o'clock, when he left, found his way to Georgetown, pawned one of his revolvers, now in Court, and fled northward into Maryland.

He is traced to Montgomery county, to the house of Mr. Metz, on the Sunday succeeding the murder, where, as is proved by the testimony of three witnesses, he said that if the man that was to follow General Grant had followed him, it was likely that Grant was shot. To one of these witnesses (Mr. Laynian) he said he did not think Grant had been killed ; or if he had been killed he was killed by a man who got on the cars at the same time that Grant did ; thus disclosing most clearly that one of his co-conspirators was assigned the task of killing and murdering General Grant, and that Atzeroth knew that General Grant had left the city of Washington, a fact which is not disputed, on the Friday evening of the murder, by the evening train. Thus this intended victim of the conspiracy escaped, for that night, the knives and revolvers of Atzeroth, and O'Laughlin, and Payne, and Harold, and Booth, and John H. Surratt, and, perchance, Harper and Caldwell, and twenty others who were then here lying in wait for his life.

In the meantime, Booth and Harold, taking the route before agreed upon, make directly after the assassination for the Anacostia bridge. Booth crosses first, gives his name, passes the guard, and is speedily followed by Harold. They make their way directly to Surrattsville, where Harold calls to Lloyd, "Bring out those



things," showing that there had been communication between them and Mrs. Surratt after her return. Both the carbines being in readiness, according to Mary E. Surratt's directions, both were brought out. They took but one; Booth declined to carry the other, saying that his limb was broken. They then declared that they had murdered the President and the Secretary of State. They then made their way directly to the house of the prisoner Mudd, assured of safety and security. They arrived early in the morning before day, and no man knows at what hour they left. Harold rode towards Bryantown with Mudd about three o'clock that afternoon, in the vicinity of which place he parted with him, remaining in the swamp, and was afterward seen returning the same afternoon in the direction of Mudd's house; about which time, a little before sundown, Mudd returned from Bryantown towards his home.

This village at the time Mudd was in it was thronged with soldiers in pursuit of the murderers of the President, and although great care has been taken by the defence to deny that any one said in the presence of Dr. Mudd, either there or elsewhere on that day, who had committed the crime, yet it is in evidence by two witnesses whose truthfulness no man questions, that upon Mudd's return to his own house, that afternoon, he stated that Booth was the murderer of the President, and Boyle the murderer of Secretary Seward, but took care to make the further remark, that Booth had brothers, and he did not know which of them had done the act. When did Dr. Mudd learn that Booth had brothers? And what is still more pertinent to this inquiry, from whom did he learn that either John Wilkes Booth or any of his brothers had murdered the President? It is clear that Booth remained in his house until some time in the afternoon of Saturday; that Harold left the house alone, as one of the witnesses states, being seen to pass the window; that he alone of these two assassins was in the company of Dr. Mudd on his way to Bryantown. It does not appear when Harold returned to Mudd's house. It is a confession of Dr. Mudd himself, proven by one of the witnesses, that Booth left his house on crutches, and went in the direction of the swamp.

How long he remained there, and what became of the horses which Booth and Harold rode to his house, and which were put into his stable, are facts nowhere disclosed by the evidence. The owners testify that they have never seen the horses since. The accused give no explanation of the matter, and when Harold and Booth were captured they had not these horses in their possession. How comes it that on Mudd's return from Bryantown, on the evening of Saturday, in his conversation with Mr. Hardy and Mr. Farrell, the witnesses before referred to, he gave the name of Booth as the murderer of the President and that of Boyle as the murderer of Secretary Seward and his son, and carefully avoided intimating to either that Booth had come to his house early that day and had remained there until the afternoon; that he left him in his house and had furnished him with a razor with which Booth attempted to disguise himself by shaving off his moustache? How comes it, also, that, upon being asked by those two witnesses whether the Booth who killed the President was the one who had been there last fall, he answered that he did not know whether it was that man or one of his brothers, but he understood he had some brothers, and added, that if it was the Booth who was there last fall, he knew that one, but concealed the fact that this man had been at his house on that day and was then at his house, and had attempted, in his presence, to disguise his person?

He was sorry, very sorry, that the thing had occurred, but not so sorry as to be willing to give any evidence to these two neighbors, who were manifestly honest and upright men, that the murderer had been harbored in his house all day, and was probably at that moment, as his own subsequent confession shows, lying concealed in his house or near by, subject to his call. This is the man who undertakes to show by his own declaration, offered in evidence against my protest, of what he said afterward, on Sunday afternoon, the 16th, to his kinsman, Dr. George D. Mudd to whom he then stated that the assassination of the President was a most damnable act, a conclusion in which most men will agree with him, and to establish which his testimony was not needed. But it is to be remarked that this accused

did not intimate that the man whom he knew the evening before was the murderer had found refuge in his house, had disguised his person, and sought concealment in the swamp upon the crutches which he had provided for him.

Why did he conceal this fact from his kinsman? After the church services were over, however, in another conversation on their way home, he did tell Dr. George Mudd that two suspicious persons had been at his house, who had come there a little before daybreak on Saturday morning; that one of them had a broken leg, which he bandaged; that they seemed to be laboring under more excitement than probably would result from the injury; that they got something to eat at his house; that they said they came from Bryantown, and inquired the way to Parson Wilmer's; that while at his house one of them called for a razor and shaved himself. The witness says: "I do not remember whether he said that this party shaved off his whiskers or moustache, but he altered somewhat or probably materially his features." Finally, the prisoner, Dr. Mudd, told this witness that he, in company with the younger of the two men went down the road toward Bryantown in search of a vehicle to take the wounded man away from his house.

How comes it that he concealed in his conversation the fact proved that he went with Harold towards Bryantown, and left Harold outside of the town? How comes it that in this second conversation, on Sunday, insisted upon here with such pertinacity as evidence for the defence, but which had never been called for by the prosecution, he concealed from his kinsman the fact which he had disclosed the day before to Hardy and Farrell, that it was Booth who assassinated the President, and the fact which is now disclosed by his other confessions given in evidence for the prosecution, that it was Booth whom he had sheltered, concealed in his house, and aided to his hiding place in the swamp? He volunteers as evidence his further statement, however, to this witness, that on Sunday evening he requested the witness to state to the military authorities that two suspicious persons had been at his house, and see if anything could be made of it. He did not tell the witness what became of Harold and where he parted with him on the way to Bryantown. How comes it that when he was in Bryantown, on the Saturday evening before, when he knew that Booth was then at his house, and that Booth was the murderer of the President, he did not himself state it to the military authorities then in that village, as he well knew? It is difficult to see what kindled his suspicions on Sunday, if none were in his mind on Saturday, when he was in possession of the fact that Booth had murdered the President, and was then secreting and disguising himself in the prisoner's own house.

His conversation with Gardner on the same Sunday at the church is also introduced here, to relieve him from the overwhelming evidences of his guilt. He communicates nothing to Gardner of the fact that Booth had been in his house; nothing of the fact that he knew the day before that Booth had murdered the President; nothing of the fact that Booth had disguised or attempted to disguise himself; nothing of the fact that he had gone with Booth's associate, Harold, in search of a vehicle, the more speedily to expedite their flight; nothing of the fact that Booth had found concealment in the woods and swamp near his house, upon the crutches which he had furnished him. He contents himself with merely stating "that we ought to raise immediately a home guard to hunt up all suspicious persons passing through our section of country, and arrest them, for there were two suspicious persons at my house yesterday morning."

It would have looked more like aiding justice and arresting felons if he had put in execution his project of a home guard on Saturday, and made it effective by the arrest of the man then in his house who had lodged with him last fall; with whom he had gone to purchase one of the very horses employed in his flight after the assassination; whom he had visited last winter in Washington, and to whom he had pointed out the very route by which he had escaped by way of his house; whom he had again visited on the 3d of last March, preparatory to the commission of this great crime; and who he knew, when he sheltered and concealed him in the woods on Saturday, was not merely a suspicious person, but was, in fact, the murderer and assassin of Abraham Lincoln. While I deem it my duty



to say here, as I said before, when these declarations, uttered by the accused on Sunday, the 16th, to Gardner and George D. Mudd, were attempted to be offered on the part of the accused, that they are in no sense evidence, and by the law were wholly inadmissible, yet I state it as my conviction, that, being upon the record upon motion of the accused himself, so far as these declarations to Gardner and George D. Mudd go, they are additional indications of the guilt of the accused, in this, that they are manifestly suppressions of truth and suggestions of falsehood and deception; they are but the utterances and confessions of guilt.

To Lieutenant Lovett, Joshua Lloyd and Simon Gavican, who, in the pursuit of the murderer, visited his house on the 13th of April, the Tuesday after the murder, he denied positively, upon inquiry, that two men had passed his house, or had come to his house on the morning after the assassination. Two of these witnesses swear positively to his having made the denial and the other says he hesitated to answer the question he put to him; all of them agree that he afterwards admitted that two men had been there, one of whom had a broken limb, which he had set; and when asked by this witness who that man was, he said he did not know; that the man was a stranger to him, and that the two had been there but a short time. Lloyd asked him if he had ever seen any of the parties, Booth, Harold and Surratt; he said that he had never seen them, while it is positively proved that he was acquainted with John H. Surratt, who had been in his house; that he knew Booth, and had introduced Booth to Surratt last winter. Afterwards, on Friday, the 21st, he admitted to Lloyd that he had been introduced to Booth last fall, and that this man who came to his house on Saturday, the 15th, remained there from about four o'clock in the morning until about four in the afternoon; that one of them left his house on horseback, and the other walking. In the first conversation he denied ever having seen these men.

Colonel Wells also testifies that, in his conversation with Dr. Mudd on Friday, the 21st, the prisoner said that he had gone to Bryantown, or near Bryantown, to see some friends on Saturday, and that as he came back to his own house he saw the person he afterwards supposed to be Harold passing to the left of his house towards the barn, but that he did not see the other person at all after he left him in his own house, about one o'clock. If this statement be true, how did Dr. Mudd see the same person leave his house on crutches? He further stated to this witness that he returned to his own house about four o'clock in the afternoon; that he did not know this wounded man; said he could not recognize him from the photograph which is of record here, but admitted that he had met Booth some time in November, when he had some conversation with him about lands and horses; that Booth had remained with him that night in November, and on the next day had purchased a horse. He said he had not again seen Booth from the time of the introduction in November up to his arrival at his house on the Saturday morning after the assassination. Is not this a confession that he did see John Wilkes Booth on that morning at his house, and knew it was Booth? If he did not know him, how came he to make this statement to the witness "that he had not seen Booth after November prior to his arrival there on the Saturday morning?"

He had said before to the same witness he did not know the wounded man. He said further to Colonel Wells, that when he went up stairs after their arrival, he noticed that the person he supposed to be Booth, had shaved off his moustache. It is not inferable from this declaration that he then supposed him to be Booth? Yet he declared the same afternoon, and while Booth was in his own house, that Booth was the murderer of the President. One of the most remarkable statements made to this witness by the prisoner was that he heard for the first time on Sunday morning, or late in the evening of Saturday, that the President had been murdered. From whom did he hear it? The witness (Colonel Wells) volunteered his "impression" that Dr. Mudd had said he had heard it after the person had left his house. If the "impression" of the witness thus volunteered is to be taken as evidence, and the counsel for the accused, judging from their manner, seem to think it ought to be, let this question be answered, how could Dr. Mudd have made that impression upon any body truthfully, when it is proved by Farrell and Hardy that

on his return from Bryantown, on Saturday afternoon, he not only stated that the President, Mr. Seward and his son had been assassinated, but that Boyle had assassinated Mr. Seward, and Booth had assassinated the President? Add to this the fact that he said to this witness that he left his own house at one o'clock, and when he returned the men were gone; yet it is in evidence, by his own declarations, that Booth left his house at four o'clock on crutches, and he must have been there to have seen it, or he could not have known the fact.

Mr. Williams testified that he was at Mudd's house on Tuesday, the 18th of April, when he said that strangers had not been that way, and also declared that he heard, for the first time, of the assassination of the President on Sunday morning, at church; afterwards, on Friday, the 21st, Mr. Williams asked him concerning the men who had been at his house, one of whom had a broken limb, and he confessed they had been there. Upon being asked if they were Booth and Harold, he said they were not; that he knew Booth. I think it is fair to conclude that he did know Booth, when we consider the testimony of Weichman, of Norton, of Evans, and all the testimony just referred to, wherein he declares, himself, that he not only knew him, but that he had lodged with him, and that he had himself gone with him when he purchased his horse from Gardener last fall, for the very purpose of aiding the flight of himself, or, some of his confederates.

All these circumstances taken together, which, as we have seen upon high authority, are stronger as evidence of guilt than even direct testimony, leave no further room for argument, and no rational doubt that Doctor Samuel A. Mudd was as certainly in this conspiracy as were Booth and Harold, whom he sheltered and entertained; receiving them under cover of darkness on the morning after the assassination, concealing them throughout that day from the hand of offended justice and aiding them by every endeavor, to pursue their way successfully to their co-conspirator, Arnold, at Fortress Monroe, and in which direction he fled until overtaken and slain.

We next find Harold and his confederate, Booth, after their departure from the house of Mudd, across the Potomac, in the neighborhood of Port Conway, on Monday the 24th of April, conveyed in a wagon. There Harold, in order to obtain the aid of Capt. Jett, Ruggles and Bainbridge, of the confederate army, said to Jett, "We are the assassins of the President;" that this was his brother with him, who, with himself, belonged to A. P. Hill's Corps; that his brother had been wounded at Petersburg; that their names were Boyd. He requested Jett and his rebel companions to take them out of the lines. After this, Booth joined these parties, was placed on Ruggles' horse, and crossed the Rappahannock river.

They then proceeded to the house of Garrett, in the neighborhood of Port Royal, and nearly midway between Washington City and Fortress Monroe, where they were to have joined Arnold. Before these Rebel guides and guards parted with them, Harold confessed that they were traveling under assumed names; that his own name was Harold, and that the name of the wounded man was John Wilkes Booth, "who had killed the President." The Rebels left Booth at Garrett's where Harold revisited him from time to time, until they were captured. At two o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 26th, a party of United States officers and soldiers surrounded Garrett's barn, where Booth and Harold lay concealed, and demanded their surrender. Booth cursed Harold, calling him a coward, and bade him go, when Harold came out and surrendered himself, was taken into custody, and is now brought into Court. The barn was then set on fire, when Booth sprang to his feet, amid the flames that were kindling about him, carbine in hand, and approached the door, seeking, by the flashing light of the fire, to find some new victim for his murderous hand, when he was shot, as he deserved to be, by Sergeant Corbett, in order to save his comrades from wounds or death by the hands of this desperate assassin. Upon his person was found the following bill of exchange:

"No. 1492. The Ontario Bank, Montreal Branch Exchange for £61 12s. 10d. Montreal, 27th October, 1864. Sixty days after sight of this first of exchange, second and third of the same tenor and date, pay to the order of J. Wilkes Booth



£61 12s. 10d. sterling, value received, and charge to the account of this office. H. Stanus, manager. To Messrs. Glynn, Mills & Co., London."

Thus fell, by the hands of one of the defenders of the Republic, this hired assassin, who, for a price, murdered Abraham Lincoln, bearing upon his person, as this bill of exchange testifies, additional evidence of the fact that he had undertaken, in aid of rebellion, this work of assination by the hands of himself and his confederates, for such sum as the accredited agents of Jefferson Davis might pay him or them, out of the funds of the Confederacy, which, as in evidence, they had in "any amount" in Canada for the purpose of rewarding conspirators, spies, poisoners and assassins, who might take service under their false commissions, and do the work of the incendiary and the murderer upon the lawful representatives of the American people, to whom had been entrusted the care of the Republic, the maintenance of the Constitution and the execution of the laws.

The Court will remember that it is in the testimony of Merritt, and Montgomery, and Conover, that Thompson, and Sanders, and Clay, and Cleary, made their boasts that they had money in Canada for this very purpose. Nor is it to be overlooked or forgotten that the officers of the Ontario Bank at Montreal testify that during the current year of this conspiracy and assassination Jacob Thompson had on deposit in that bank the sum of six hundred and forty-nine thousand dollars, and that these deposits to the credit of Jacob Thompson, accrued from the negotiations of bills of exchange drawn by the Secretary of the Treasury of the so-called Confederate States on Fraser, Trenholm & Co., of Liverpool, who were known to be the financial agents of the Confederate States. With an undrawn deposit in this bank of four hundred and fifty-five dollars, which has remained to his credit since October last, and with an unpaid bill of exchange drawn by the same bank upon London, in his possession and found upon his person, Booth ends his guilty career in this work of conspiracy and blood in April, 1865, as he began it in October, 1864, in combination with Jefferson Davis, Jacob Thompson, George N. Sanders, Clement C. Clay, William C. Cleary, Beverly Tucker and other co-conspirators, making use of the money of the Rebel Confederation to aid in the execution and in the flight, bearing at the moment of his death upon his person their money, part of the price which they paid for his great crime, to aid him in its consummation, and secure him afterwards from arrest and the just penalty which by the law of God and the law of man is denounced against treasonable conspiracy and murder.

By all the testimony in the case, it is, in my judgment, made as clear as any transaction can be shown by human testimony, that John Wilkes Booth and John H. Surratt, and the several accused, David E. Harold, George A. Atzeroth, Lewis Payne, Michael O'Loughlin, Edward Spangler, Samuel Arnold, Mary E. Surratt, and Samuel A. Mudd, did, with the intent to aid the existing rebellion and to subvert the Constitution and laws of the United States, in the month of October last, and thereafter, combine, confederate and conspire with Jefferson Davis, George N. Sanders, Beverly Tucker, Jacob Thompson, William C. Cleary, Clement C. Clay, George Harper, George Young, and others unknown, to kill and murder, within the military department of Washington, and within the intrenched fortifications and military lines thereof, Abraham Lincoln, then President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof; Andrew Johnson, Vice-President of the United States, William H. Seward, Secretary of State, and Ulysses S. Grant, Lieutenant-General in command of the armies of the United States; and that Jefferson Davis, the chief of this rebellion, was the instigator and procurer, through his accredited agents in Canada, of the treasonable conspiracy.

It is also submitted to the Court that it is clearly established by the testimony that John Wilkes Booth in pursuance of this conspiracy, so entered into by him and the accused, did, on the night of the 14th of April, 1865, within the military department of Washington, and the intrenched fortifications and military lines thereof, and with the intent laid, inflict a mortal wound upon Abraham Lincoln, then President and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, whereof he died; that in pursuance of the same conspiracy



and within the said department and intrenched lines, Lewis Payne assaulted, with intent to kill and murder, William H. Seward, then Secretary of State of the United States ; that George A. Atzeroth , in pursuance of the same conspiracy, and within the said department, laid in wait, with intent to kill and murder Andrew Johnson, then Vice-President of the United States ; that Michael O'Laughlin, within said department, and in pursuance of said conspiracy, laid in wait to kill and murder Ulysses S. Grant, then in command of the armies of the United States ; and that Mary E. Surratt, David E. Harold, Samuel Arnold, Samuel A. Mudd, and Edward Spangler, did encourage, aid and abet the commission of said several acts in the prosecution of said conspiracy.

If this treasonable conspiracy has not been wholly executed ; if the several executive officers of the United States and the commander of its armies, to kill and murder whom the said several accused thus confederated and conspired, have not each and all fallen by the hands of these conspirators, thereby leaving the people of the United States without a President, or Vice-President ; without a Secretary of State, who alone is clothed with authority by the law to call an election to fill the vacancy, should any arise, in the offices of President and Vice-President, and without a lawful commander of the armies of the Republic, it is only because the conspirators were deterred by the vigilance and fidelity of the executive officers, whose lives were mercifully protected on that night of murder by the care of the Infinite Being, who has thus far saved the Republic and crowned its arms with victory.

If this conspiracy was thus entered into by the accused ; if John Wilkes Booth did kill and murder Abraham Lincoln in pursuance thereof ; if Lewis Payne did in pursuance of said conspiracy, assault with intent to kill and murder William H. Seward, as stated ; and if the several parties accused did commit the several acts alleged against them in the prosecution of said conspiracy, then it is the law that all the parties to that conspiracy, whether present at the time of its execution or not, whether on trial before this Court or not, are alike guilty of the several acts done by each in the execution of the common design. What these conspirators did in the execution of this conspiracy by the hand of one of their co-conspirators, they did themselves ; his act, done in the prosecution of the common design, was the act of all the parties to the treasonable combination, because done in execution and furtherance of their guilty and treasonable agreement.

As we have seen, this is the rule, whether all the conspirators are indicted or not ; whether they are all on trial or not. "It is not material what the nature of the indictment is, provided the offence involve a conspiracy. Upon indictment for murder, for instance, if it appears that others, together with the prisoner, conspired to perpetrate the crime, the act of one done in pursuance of that intention, would be evidence against the rest." (1 Whar., 706.) To the same effect are the words of Chief Justice Marshall, before cited, that whoever leagued in a general conspiracy, performed any part, however MINUTE, or however REMOTE from the scene of action, are guilty as principals. In this treasonable conspiracy, to aid the existing armed rebellion, by murdering the executive officers of the United States and the commander of its armies, all the parties to it must be held as principals, and the act of one, in prosecution of the common design, the act of all.

I leave the decision of this dread issue with the Court, to which alone it belongs. It is for you to say, upon your oaths, whether the accused are guilty.

I am not conscious that in this argument I have made any erroneous statement of the evidence, or drawn any erroneous conclusions ; yet I pray the Court, out of tender regard and jealous care for the right of the accused, to see that no error of mine, if any there be, shall work them harm. The past services of the members of this honorable Court give assurance that, without fear, favor, or affection, they will discharge with fidelity the duty enjoined upon them by their oaths. Whatever else may befall, I trust in God that in this, as in every other American Court, the rights of the whole people will be respected, and that the Republic in this, its supreme hour of trial, will be true to itself and



just to all—ready to protect the rights of the humblest, to redress every wrong, to avenge every crime, to vindicate the majesty of law, and to maintain inviolate the Constitution—whether it be secretly or openly assailed by hosts, armed with gold, or armed with steel.

JOHN A. BINGHAM,  
Special Judge Advocate.

#### PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S APPROVAL.

And Whereas, The President of the United States has approved the foregoing sentences in the following order, to wit:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 5, 1865.—The foregoing sentences in the cases of David E. Harold, G. A. Atzeroth, Lewis Payne, and Mary E. Surratt, be carried into execution by the proper military authority, under the direction of the Secretary of War, on the 7th day of July, 1865, between the hours of 10 o'clock A. M. and 2 o'clock P. M. of that day. (Signed)

ANDREW JOHNSON, President.

Therefore you are hereby commanded to cause the foregoing sentences in the cases of David E. Harold, G. A. Atzeroth, Lewis Payne, and Mary E. Surratt, to be duly executed in accordance with the President's order.

By command of the President of the United States.

E. D. TOWNSEND,  
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Dr. Mudd, Arnold, and O'Laughlin, are to be imprisoned for life, and Spangler for six years, all at hard labor, in the Dry Tortugas.

Thus ended the career of one of the noblest of earth. His name in all future time will make the advocates of slavery and oppression blush, and furnish a bulwark behind which the friends of freedom can forever dwell secure. Endeared to the American people by his patriotic devotion to his country while living, he has, by the hand of the cowardly assassin, become doubly sanctified by his untimely death. No one in the long list of names in the world's great history, except Jesus, will ever eclipse him. Darius, Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon, were great; but their greatness was not the result of goodness, and will never compare with the mighty achievements of a Washington, who, by seven long years of gigantic strife, wrested a continent from the grasp of despots; or a Lincoln, who through fire and blood has preserved it undivided for his countrymen, and in justice to mankind has made it forever free.

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#### GLANCES AT ASSASSINATIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PERSONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES: ESPECIALLY OF THOSE WIELDING POLITICAL POWER.

ANXIOUS as men are to win power, how few of those who win it, do not afterwards exclaim with the English king—"uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." How few monarchs, and mighty men of the earth have slept as sound after their elevation, as they did before! The solution of the question is found in the fact, that assassination or violent death in some form for such individuals, seems to be the rule, and not the ex-

ception. Greatness in public life, whether achieved or inherited, is a dangerous thing.

To give even a faint idea to the unlettered man of the host of distinguished persons who have been murdered while sitting in seats of power, would be difficult—but to convince the mass of mankind, not only of the *number* of such victims, but of the endless plots, conspiracies, and machinery by which this vast army of the illustrious have been hurried to their tombs, would be an utter impossibility. The best historians even, do not know, and never have, of but a small part of the number of the men and women in high stations who have been foully killed, by slow or quick poison, the dagger, the bullet, drowning, starvation, suffocation, long imprisonment, confinement in private mad-houses, buried alive, the rope, the cord, the bowstring, hurled from precipices, frightened to death—and God knows how many hundred other modes by which the souls of men have by assassination been forced out of this world with all its light, and love, and beauty, into the dark, and drear unknown!

Among *public* assassinations, perhaps the two most illustrious are *Cæsar* and *Lincoln*, performed by *individuals* as instruments of deep conspiracies.

Among *public* assassinations performed by State governments—and their name is legion—we find Jesus of Nazareth and half a million of his disciples the most sacred of all, stretching through the ages, like a vast serpent line, black with all crime, and fringed with murder blood.

There was Anne Boleyn, and Lady Jane Gray, and Mary Queen of Scots, and Maria Antoinette. There was John of Prague, and Huss, and Wickliffe,—Charles the II.—Louis XVI.—and all that line. But *the great roll* would consist in secret assassinations. Most of the chief Rulers of great empires have been dispatched in secret. Nearly all the emperors of the old dynasties of Egypt and Asia and Rome died by the hands of assassins. So of Russia and other great states.

It is a curious fact, however, that so large a number of the victims of assassin conspiracy have been good men. Attempts to kill tyrants have generally failed—they have been safe; for bad men like tyrants because tyrants are their friends, and bad men do not kill them. Tyrants are not exposed to murder from good men, because good men are not assassins. Good men had rather suffer a while longer and wait for the retribution which God is sure, sooner or later, to meet out to the wrongdoers of the earth.

If anything like a *full* record of the annals of assassination should be written, it would fill a library. We select only a few striking cases, and they are all *political murders*.—murders for *empire*—for *POWER*.

Napoleon Bonaparte had no child by Josephine, his first wife, and for this reason he discarded her and married Maria Louisa, an Austrian



Bourbon Princess—the greatest mistake of his life. By this union, a son was born who was proclaimed “king of Rome.” “Napoleon II’”.——On the fall of his father, and his banishment to St. Helena, Austria claimed the custody of this boy; and he was transferred to Vienna, where he was kept *as an instrument of State*, to be used for political purposes. He was the first legitimate heir to the throne of Napoleon if the Bonapartes were again to rule France:—and having the royal blood of the Austrian House in his veins, he also shared in that imperial inheritance; so he could be kept a tenant at the will of Austria; and he was. He could live as long as needed—he could die in a second when necessary—or he could live a lingering death by being made an imbecile. The latter was his fate. When Europe sunk back to its repose, and the “Holy Alliance” had *settled the map* of empires, kingdoms, and principalities, and all the ships of state were sailing in clear water, the time came to get rid of this heir to the throne of Napoleon, for he was no longer needed.

It then became a question only of how to dispatch him. Austria could perpetrate *any* crime:—but in the case of this young man, who had endeared himself to all the court, and all his attendants, violence was not resorted to; it was not necessary.

But he must be got rid of. How? They could kill him with *luxury*—murder him with *perfumes*, as Sultans and other Oriental lovers get rid of rejected mistresses. They could not make him *drink* himself to death, and so they invoked other fascinations. Fanny Essler had just enchanted the European world. She was sent for. The king of Rome’s doom was sealed. He died the death of an Oriental satrap. His bier was a bed of roses—a fate worthy of Sardinipalus.

Thus came this imperial son of the great Napoleon to his doom. But his cousin Louis Napoleon avenged his death on the field of Solferino—and Austria will yet pay still dearer for her crime. The Napoleon dynasty still lives—the Bourbons are dying. The first belong to the *present* at least—the latter to the *past*.

It is hardly necessary to give any recital of the murder of the young princes in the Tower of London. We remember from our childhood this heartless tragedy. We turn to look for a moment at a few illustrations in point, with which common readers may be less familiar.

Assassination prevailed to a dreadful extent during the Middle Ages, especially in Italy. The standard of honor and morality in that country, and even in Rome itself, the capital of christendom, was lower than it was in the most degenerate days of the later Cæsars. Private murders were more frequently resorted to, especially among Princes, and the upper classes.

The history of the Borgia family is crimsoned with blood on every

page. Pope Alexander VI., the father of the infamous Cæsar Borgia, resorted to assassination whenever it suited his ambitious purposes; and the record of no barbarian Prince is more horrible and revolting than the history of this ambitious and heartless Pontiff.

But the crimes of his son exceeded, if possible, those of his father in their atrocity, enormity and extent. This chiefest villain of all the ages, being the son of a Pope who was supreme lord and sovereign of Rome and vicegerant of God Almighty, was clothed with great authority, made rich by robbery, and could perpetrate any crime with impunity. He was made a cardinal; the Duchy of Valentino was stolen from its rightful owner and given to Borgia who had already inaugurated a series of the most frightful crimes ever written in the history of a single individual. His ambition was to become king of Italy, which at that time would, with the all powerful alliance and sanction of the Church of Rome, render the king of Italy the most powerful sovereign of Europe.

With his eye fixed on such a throne Borgia hesitated at no crime. He first plotted and secured the death of several of the richest cardinals and noblemen of Rome and thus enriched himself. He then made open war upon neighboring princes—defeating their armies in the field, and imprisoning and murdering their masters. When he could not get them into his hands, he employed their confidential friends and attendants to murder them in their castles. But as this could not always be done, he resorted to a final plot by which he could get rid of them *all* at once. He proposed a convention for agreeing on the terms of a general and permanent peace. The rival princes all met Cæsar Borgia at one of his castles at the appointed time, when they were foully assassinated in a few moments. His assassinations were endless. His means and instruments exceeded in number, forms, and subtleties, all knowledge or comprehension. He had only to will the death of any person in Italy, or any part of Europe, and that man, or woman, or child, died. Poison in wines, in all kinds of food, in clothing, in flowers and perfumes, in letters, in presents, in the atmosphere where one breath drawn was instant death.—In stiletos, hidden springs of poisoned steel which in grasping a hand infused the deadly poison:—in violent murder—in any of the countless forms in which the subtle genius of chemists, artists, and diplomatists could be used by the superior, infernal genius of that prince of all assassins—CÆSAR BORGIA.

#### ATTEMPTED POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS SINCE 1850.

From the *Unita Catolica*.

“Queen Victoria can count four attempts on her life. On June 28, 1850, she received a violent blow with a stick from one Robert Pate, a retired lieutenant of the Tenth Hussars.



“ In May, 1850, the late King of Prussia received, as he was mounting a railway carriage, a shot from a holster pistol of large bore in the forearm; the assassin, Sefelage, of Wetzlow, cried out as he fired, ‘ Liberty for ever.’ The life of the present King of Prussia was in danger at Baden, on the morning of July 14, 1861. Two pistol shots were fired at him by Oscar Becker, a law student of Leipsic. The regicide declared that he wished to kill the King because he was not capable of effecting the unity of Germany.

“ On February 18, 1853, at Vienna, Francis Joseph I. was struck with a knife in the nape of the neck. The murderer’s name was Libeny, of Albe, in Hungary, aged 20, resident at Vienna, and a tailor by trade.

“ On March 20, 1854, Ferdinand Charles III. Duke of Parma, returning from an excursion, was hustled by an individual who at the same time stabbed him in the abdomen, left the poignard in the wound, and subsequently escaped. The Duke expired in cruel torture at the end of twenty-three hours.

“ On May 28, 1856, as Queen Isabella was passing in her carriage along the Rue de l’Arsenal at Madrid, a young man, named Raymond Fuentés drew a pistol from his pocket, and would have discharged it at her head had not his arm been caught, and his weapon taken from him by an agent of the police.

“ On December 8, 1856, whilst Ferdinand II. was reviewing his troops at Naples, a soldier, named Agésiras Milano struck him with his bayonet, and, at a later period, Garibaldi honored the memory of the regicide.

“ In October, 1852, when Napoleon III., who was on the eve of becoming Emperor was at Marseilles, there had been prepared an infernal machine, formed by two hundred and fifty gun-barrels charged with fifteen hundred balls, intended to go off all at once against the Prince and his *cortége*. But the attempt was not carried out. July 5, 1853, a fresh attempt was made to assassinate him as he was going to the Opéra Comique. Twelve Frenchmen were arrested as being concerned in the conspiracy. On April 28, 1855, Jean Liverani fired two shots at the Emperor in the Grande avenue of the Champs Elysees. In 1857, Thibaldi, Bartolotti and Grilli came from England to Paris to assassinate the Emperor, but were discovered, arrested, tried and punished. On January 14, 1858, Orsini, Gomes, Pieri and Rudio, threw their murderous shells at the Emperor of the French and shed the blood of a great number of honest citizens in Paris. On December 24, 1863, Greco, Trabucco, Imperatore and Scaglioni, who had come over from London, with the intention of killing the French Emperor, were arrested in Paris.

“ In September 18, 1862, the Queen of Greece, directing public affairs during the king’s absence, was returning from a ride on horseback, when she was fired at without effect, near the palace, by Aristide Donsios, a student, aged nineteen years.

“ In 1858 an attempt was made on the life of Victor Emmanuel II., and Count Cavour gave an account of it in the sitting of April 16.”

## TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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REMEMBER our country can only become weak when it refuses to do right. Let justice be done to the people who, during long years of rebellion in the rebel territory alone, amidst unfaithfulness and foul treachery remained loyal and true, scorning the treason of their traitorous masters, and refusing to participate in their country's ruin : on countless bloody battle fields sharing bravery and danger with the white race, aiding to secure victory by freely pouring out their blood to vindicate the national authority, and uphold the honor of its flag. While swift to pardon the national enemies, let it not be said of those in authority that they are ungrateful to its most devoted friends.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ABOLISHING SLAVERY, AND OATH OF LOYALTY FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

We take it for granted the CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ABOLISHING SLAVERY, will be ratified by twenty-eight States ; already twenty-four have recorded their votes in the affirmative, as follows :

#### RATIFICATIONS.

Illinois, Feb. 1, 1865.	East Virginia, Feb. 9, 1865,
Rhode Island, Feb. 2, 1865.	Indiana, Feb. 13, 1865.
Maryland, Feb. 3, 1865.	Nevada, Feb. 16, 1865.
Massachusetts, Feb. 3, 1865.	Louisiana, Feb. 17, 1865.
New York, Feb. 3, 1865.	Missouri, Feb. 24, 1865.
Pennsylvania, Feb. 3, 1865.	Wisconsin, Feb. 24, 1865.
West Virginia, Feb. 3, 1865.	Vermont, March 9, 1865.
Michigan, Feb. 4, 1865.	Tennessee, April 5, 1865.
Maine, Feb. 7, 1865.	Arkansas, April —, 1865.
Ohio, Feb. 8, 1865.	Connecticut, May 4, 1865.
Kansas, Feb. 8, 1865.	Iowa, June 30, 1865.
Minnesota, Feb. 8, 1865.	New Hampshire, June 30, 1865.

#### REJECTIONS.

Delaware, Feb. 8, 1865.	New Jersey, March 1, 1865.
Kentucky, Feb. 23, 1865.	

We expect to see not only the number required by the Constitution, but we believe all the States will endorse and ratify it.



THE DIFFICULTY TO SOUTHERN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—In July, 1863, a law was passed by Congress requiring the following oath of “every person elected or appointed to any office of honor or emolument, civil, military or naval, or any other department of the public service, except the President of the United States,” to wit:

I solemnly swear that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States since I have been a citizen thereof, that I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have neither sought or accepted, nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever under any authority or pretended authority in hostility to the United States; that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power or constitution within the United States hostile or inimical thereto; and I do further swear that, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States, &c.

This is the oath demanded from the members of the last Congress, and which the members of the new Congress will likely be compelled to take.

In matters concerning ourselves, our kindred, our dear friends and our neighbors, it is consoling, it is sweet to feel we have in all things done right.

But how much more the responsibility when millions of the human family have confided in the judgment, and placed in the hands of one man the sacred trust of preserving their lives, their liberties and their earthly all. Every President has this great boon in his keeping; it is a responsible position, a holy trust; he, who through wisdom and pure motives acts justly to all, will receive the heartfelt gratitude of the present and coming generations, and when the evening of life gathers softly round his dying bed, how happy to know and feel that he has done all things well

“Only actions of the just  
Smell sweet in life,  
And blossom in the dust.”

President Johnson has the most difficult task to perform of any President since the origin of the government. He can only succeed by the aid of divine providence. The war is over, to be sure, but the discordant political elements remain to be harmonized. In this condition justice only will secure harmony. Every side of the reconstruction question appears to be surrounded with difficulty. On the one side you are met by downright injustice, backed by ignorance, and supported by prejudice against color. The treacherous ex-slaveholder could never permit the freedman to exercise the right of suffrage. He has not only got this feeling himself, but he has imparted it in a great measure to his poor white neighbor, whom slavery has degraded and impoverished. This then shows the feelings of nearly all the white race living in the South concerning the negroes.

When the white masters owned them, interest prompted kindness and care ; but now, when the negro has his freedom, he is looked upon as taking a step in the direction of rivaling the master in his right to vote. The poor white man who is ignorant of nearly everything, except hatred to the negro, now sees in him a new rival in political rights.

Some of these unreasonable and unjust prejudices will have to be thrown aside, or new troubles will rise in the future that will prove disastrous to the peace and well being of the South, and the Country. The northern people have been voting against the negro for over eighty years ; of course the slaves were not allowed to vote directly, but indirectly. The South, under the three-fifth clause of the Constitution, according to the last census, would be entitled to a slave representation of about 2,400,000 persons, that is, 4,000,000 of blacks have the same legal representative strength as if 2,400,000 white citizens were added to its population, the South being entitled to eighty-four representatives, ; eighteen of their number hold their office by virtue of the negro population, guaranteed by the three-fifth clause in the Constitution. As we before said, the negroes did not vote directly, but for President and members of the lower house of Congress, eighty white votes in the slave States being equivalent to one hundred in the free States. Suppose there were no blacks in the Southern States, who would agree to a system of political juggling that would strip the people of the free States of their manhood by counting every eighty southern votes as equivalent to every one hundred in the Northern States.

This is the political coat of mail the Constitution furnished to the slave oligarchy for over three-quarters of a century. Feeling more than secure in the aforesaid political attitude, they became arrogant and domineering, and in the attempt to rid themselves of their connection with free institutions, lost the twenty per cent. advantage given them by the injustice of the Constitution. And now, after four years of devastating war, inaugurated by their own ignorance and folly, they come out of the bloody contest minus their political superfluities.

Every citizen of the free States should recollect this, and demand that under no pretext will this unjust advantage ever again be acquiesced in, no matter how fine the politicians may attempt to play it in reconstruction of the rebel States. It must be exposed and defeated. One hundred votes in the North must be equivalent to one hundred votes in the South. Justice to the voters in all the States require this to be done. Men having such political advantages showered on their unworthy heads under the government before the war, being defeated in battle by the superior ability of the federal commanders, and daring bravery and courage of the men, will now resort to intrigue with honied tongues, unmeaning oaths and fair promises : they will endeavor to again wriggle them-



selves into position, so as to control elections and infuse deadly poison into every just and humane principle which, in reaping the fruits of victory, the wise and good adopt as a means to cement the Union and secure its perpetuity. The man who pays tax, be he black or white, must be allowed the right of suffrage, or his excuse for rebelling against injustice is the same as our revolutionary fathers had against Great Britain.

If the rebel States are left to themselves to reorganize, the leaders of the late rebellion will become masters of the field. It is safe to count them as eighty in every hundred of the white population. They hate every white man that holds Union sentiments, and every negro because the Union made him free.

The reader can now observe some of the difficulties that lie in the way of harmonizing the new relations created by the war in the South. The disappointed, defeated and disgraced rebels will do all in their power to prevent a good feeling between the loyal whites and freedmen of the South.

There is one way to arrange this troublesome question. Let loyalists, black and white, who fought and saved the country by pouring out their blood, now act together and keep down treason and crush out the vindictive injustice *that takes the place of slavery*.

It is safe to say that one half the voting population of the South have fallen in battle, gone to Mexico or Europe, or become disqualified to vote by the proclamation of the President. From what is left take twenty per cent. as Loyal, add to them the loyal freedman's vote and you have sufficient to overcome by constitutional means the votes of the disloyal enemies of the Federal Government. Those at the helm of state must make sure that its friends, not enemies, get control of the reconstructing rebel States. Here is one trouble that will arise from not allowing the freedmen to vote. The Constitution of the United States bases representation on the whole number of free population; this is as it should be, it is republican. Suppose the 4,000,000 slaves now made free in the Southern States are denied the right to vote for the Government, they poured out their blood to save. Then the whites of the South would be allowed by the Constitution to use these 4,000,000 of freedmen as a representative basis and vote on the strength of their numbers for President and representatives. Now the Constitution gave the whites of the South during slavery, the advantage of counting the blacks by the three fifth rule.

The slaves being now free, if they are not allowed to vote, either a few loyal or purjured disloyal whites, or both combined, have the Constitutional right to vote for them. Will the people of the United States suffer this after-birth of slavery to be dragged into the new order, to perpetuate power when the three-fifth rule has become obsolete? Under this state of things the new order would increase, instead of diminish the po-

litical power of the white population. Under the slave system they sent eighteen members to Congress by virtue of the three-fifth clause. Now that all the slaves must soon become free, 1,600,000 over the three-fifths will have to be added to the basis of federal representation; instead of eighteen white men holding seats in Congress as representatives of the slave population we have to add ten more by virtue of the slaves all becoming free; then twenty-eight members of Congress would be entitled to seats in the House of Representatives by virtue of the freedmen. If they are not allowed to vote, the strength of their numbers is added to the white population; and the new order of things where the South had only eighty-four representatives, now gives them ninety-four. If the freedmen of the South are allowed to vote, then the Constitution has fulfilled its promise; that is to see that the form of government in each State is republican; each vote given in the South will have the same power as each vote cast in the North.

If this course is not adopted, all the political power kept from the negro *on account of his color* is gained by the Southern white. An unjust law may deny the freedmen a right to vote; but Southern politicians can not do without counting them as a basis of representation, they will be eager to transfer into the new condition, the dregs of the old, in order to hold an increased political power by virtue of the new status of the negro. Either the negro must be allowed to vote, or the white man must be denied the right to vote for him; to do the latter, the Constitution will have to be changed, and the principle of basing representation on the whole number of free persons discarded.

To abandon this, we remove the very foundation of free government. *Are the people of the United States prepared for this, because it is distasteful to the ex-slaveholders and a few political demagogues to allow the negro the right of suffrage?* The South itself would loose political power if this was carried out: instead of ninety-four representatives she is entitled to by counting the negro population, she would if they were left out, be entitled to only sixty-six. Thus we see, however distasteful negro voting may be, self interest will compel them to grant their just political rights. The people of this great country will never abandon the principles of republican government to pander to the prejudices of ex-slaveholders, traitors, and demagogues. Neither will they allow the people of the South the privilege of voting by virtue of its negro population, except the privilege is extended to the negroes themselves. To enter into any of these base and ungrateful schemes to disfranchise the freedmen, the Government turns its back on about the only loyal population in its southern territory, and this on account of their color; by abandoning these loyal citizens, it fosters revolution and gathers to its embrace a banditti of poisoners and assassins, who unscrupulous in means



would use the ingratitude of the Federal Government as an argument with the negro, and by promising him his political rights, under different circumstances, might at some future day, with his assistance make another effort to achieve their independence. The Southern States are not allowed to go on under their old constitutions, but are compelled to make new ones; they must be republican in form, recognizing the abolition of slavery. But we ask how can a constitution be republican in the true sense and meaning of the term if it denies the right to vote to a majority of its citizens. Such are the constitutions of South Carolina and Mississippi, where the freedmen outnumber the white population; would this be republican in form? we think not. But counting freedmen as a basis of representation, you give to the South Carolina and Mississippi rebels more political power than they had when slavery was in full blast. But if you reduce the voting population to the loyal whites, the whole thing becomes a farce. The political power exercised by the very few loyal whites, would excel any thing before known. Such a preponderous and unjust grant of political power in voting, and reconstructing the organic laws of the rebel States can not be allowed—the people of the North will not permit it to be done. If the freedmen of the South are to be counted as a basis of representation, where is the political knave in the North that will go before the country and advocate the right of rebels to vote for them; no, the freedmen must be counted out, or allowed to do their own voting. That they can not be counted out without destroying the fundamental principles of the Federal Government we have before shown. This question now comes before the nation in the same form as emancipation. By it the Government secured the aid of the slave, and the sympathetic prayers of all Christian countries rose in our behalf like incense to the throne of God, and in his own good time Jehovah smiled, and our success was complete.

The power of the Federal Government is now so imposing that it can, without fear, afford to be just. As to the question what to do with the negro, we can say the Saviour of men answered this question over 1800 years ago—"Do even unto them as you would wish them in all things to do unto you." The peace and future safety of our country can only be preserved by directing our political course more in harmony with the Declaration of Independence, and gathering the fruits of victory, we can continue in the unobstructed channel of eternal justice.

This nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and government of the people, by the people, for the people, and shall not perish from the earth.—*Lincoln's Speech at Gettysburgh, Nov. 19, 1863.*

The country will accept his opinion on manhood suffrage. His letter to Governor Hahn of Louisiana is of interest, and while it gives important advice, revealing his desires, expectation and intentions towards the col-

ored people, it also has the ring of prophecy. We place it here for the benefit of the people of the whole country.

“ EXECUTIVE MANSION. }  
WASHINGTON, MARCH 13, 1864. }

*Hon. Michael Hahn :*

MY DEAR SIR: I congratulate you on having fixed your name in history as the first free-State Governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest, for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone.

Truly yours,

A. LINCOLN.

#### ANOTHER IMPORTANT LETTER.

The following extract is from the late President Lincoln's letter to Gen. Wadsworth, who fell in the battle of the Wilderness.

It shows that Mr. Lincoln desired the bestowal of the elective franchise upon the blacks, and was, also, at an early day, in favor of granting universal amnesty to the South.

His wishes, in this particular, the American people can not afford to disregard. Congress should exact the right of suffrage for the blacks, then universal amnesty should be extended to the rebels. This certainly was Mr. Lincoln's plan, and whose intentions all parties should observe.

The following is the extract referred to, in which Mr. Lincoln says :

“ You desire to know, in the event of complete success in the field—the same being followed by a loyal and cheerful submission on the part of the South—if universal amnesty should not be accompanied with universal suffrage.

“ Now, since you know my private inclinations as to what terms should be granted to the South, in the contingency mentioned, I will here add, that if our success should thus be realized, followed by such desired results, I can not see, if universal amnesty is granted, how, under the circumstances, I can avoid exacting in return universal suffrage, or, suffrage on the basis of intelligence and military service.

“ How to better the condition of the colored race has long been a study which has attracted my serious and careful attention ; hence I think I am clear and decided as to what course I shall pursue in the premises, regarding it a religious duty, as the nation's guardian of these people, who have so heroically vindicated their manhood on the battle field, where, in



assisting to save the life of the republic, they have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot, which is but the humane protection of the flag they have so fearlessly defended."

President Johnson is determined to make the passage of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, and the repudiation of all debts contracted in aid or by authority of the rebellion prominent features in his administration. Although slavery received its death wound by the Proclamation of Freedom, yet it requires the amendment to complete its legal extinction on American soil.

We know not what may be in store for the black race in America ; but let the people so act that hereafter it can never be said that their personal freedom, or a fair competition in the race for life, were denied them. Give them fair play ; they and their friends ask no more, and *will accept no less.*

Then, whatever may be their future history, America will have done her duty.

Washington gave us Independance ; Lincoln will ever stand in history as the liberator of the American slave. The extension of the right of suffrage to the Freedmen will form another important epoch in our country's history. By securing this right, President Johnson becomes the founder of equal and impartial justice to all American citizens. This wise measure will give full scope to his honest and patriotic heart, and forever fix his name in history as the worthy successor of the lamented Lincoln.

We have thus passed over the road which the nation has traveled from its birth—beginning with the adoption of the Federal Constitution, where we find the origin not only of all our prosperity, but of all our domestic troubles. We have traced the growth of the slave power, which under the shield of that Constitution, ruled the republic exclusively for slavery until slavery was overthrown ; and we have shown how imperative it was that slavery and the slave power should die, in order that liberty and the republic might live. We have developed the secret plots and conspiracies of the champions of human bondage, who, like despots everywhere, to achieve success, resorted to the foulest crimes. And we have, finally, given a history of the great war, in whose oceans of blood the accursed system of slavery and its leaders have sunk forever.

We have been forced to pass through some of the darkest scenes in our country's history, painful though it has been. But though the clouds were black, they were to the hopeful eye tinged with light ; and now that the nation has started on a new course of empire and freedom, we leave to coming historians to record its impartial justice to all its children, and future influence over the destinies of the human race

## LETTER FROM PROFESSOR ROBERT GRANT,

Who accompanied Comodore Perry's Squadron at the close of the Mexican war, and at his direction made a Scientific investigation of the Climate, Soil, and Products of Central America.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 23d, 1865.

DEAR SIR,

I congratulate you upon the success of your work, entitled *History of the Plots and Crimes of the Great Conspiracy to Overthrow Liberty in America*, showing the barbaric *animus* which actuated those Southern conspirators, who inaugurated the great American rebellion in favor of Monarchy, based upon the indiscriminate slavery of the labor of the country.

My purpose in writing to you, at this time, is, to offer my positive evidence, in corroboration of the facts you have established in your work, showing that Presidents Harrison and Taylor were poisoned by those demons in human form, who inoculated and "fired the southern heart," with their traitorous teachings.

It so occurred, in the conducting of my business, as a mechanical engineer, that I became a temporary resident in Washington, at the time of President Harrison's death, and also at the moment of President Taylor's death. At the time of President Harrison's death, I was consulted in reference to the use of galvanism, in the last stages of his disease, inasmuch as I had made some improvements in electro-magneto machines adapted to medical uses, and as it had been suggested by some medical gentlemen, that electro-chemical baths, would be serviceable in eliminating poisons from the human system in extreme cases.

The baths were not used, as far as I know, by the medical gentlemen having the immediate care of the President, but I do know that the symptoms were admitted by several medical attendants on that occasion at the White House, to require the most energetic treatment for poison. I recollect perfectly well that a diagnosis of the case was advanced, referring the symptoms to the presence of lead, in some form, either as an oxide or an acetate, as accounting for the peculiar character of the disease which resulted in the death of President Harrison.

The subsequent poisoning of President Taylor, and the attempt to poison President Buchanan fatally, has satisfied me that lead, either in the whole or mingled with arsenic, was the immediate means of these cold blooded assassinations.

Referring to the suggestions of medical gentlemen in Washington in making a diagnosis of the case of President Harrison, and referring the symptoms to the presence of poison, I feel it to be necessary to state, that these explanations were advanced with extreme caution. Honorable gentlemen were adverse to countenance an expression of public conviction, which would degrade our national character, and stigmatize us as a race of poisoners, more atrocious and cruel than the political banditti who hovered like a fiendish incubus over the darkest night of crushed Italy. The hydra body of slavery had not, at that time, fully developed its gnashing jaws, and philanthropists were only intent on nipping off, and rubbing down with gentle emollients the crop of hissing heads, which were budding out all over its hideous carcass. Therefore it was, that peace-loving men hushed with trembling fear, any public expression of this horrid conviction.

The poisoning of President Taylor, the particulars of which I am personally conversant with, so far as an immediate investigation of the symptoms are concerned, was doubtless effected by "the same kind of drug as was given to President Harrison" as you correctly state in your work. The principal physicians who attended President Harrison, were those who attended President Taylor. The result was the same!



## PROF. ROBERT GRANT'S LETTER.

On the 4th of July 1850, President Taylor attended the inauguration of the Washington Monument, and after sitting out the speeches and ceremonies of the occasion, returned to the White House between 4 and 5 o'clock, p. m. One of the attendants of the White House stated to me at that time, "that immediately after arriving home, President Taylor partook of a dish of cold boiled cabbage, of which he was very fond. Soon after he was taken with severe vomiting, which continued until his death." The matter thrown from President Taylor's stomach, as did that in the case of President Harrison, showed every appearance of poison, according to the best concurring evidence which I could obtain on the spot at the time of his death.

Was a secret assassin near the person of President Taylor during these terrible four days, manipulating him according to the southern programme, so successfully accomplished in the previous case of President Harrison? Was an assassin located in the presidential household, one who made himself acquainted with the President's tastes and habits, and who knew how to *cook cabbage*? Did a specimen of that infernal element haunt the National Hotel, and at the bidding of the southern conspirators poison nearly every northern boarder, at the same time with President Buchanan, to cover up the crime? A close personal observation of all these events has satisfied me that this was the case.

As the priests of the Indian Thuggs have their sworn assassins; as the Italian banditti have their hired murderers, so did the treacherous conspirators of the South spew out their poisoners and diject their heartless cut-throats throughout the North, ready to enact any foul crime in the interest of slavery! Pioneers of the bottomless pit, cutting away the *Abatis* of freedom, clearing the way for a concerted charge on the temple of liberty, by the demons of hell!

Who these conspirators were, the history of this foul rebellion has principally unmasked; still the entire atrocities of their lives can not now be fully comprehended by the public, were it possible at this moment to gather the compendious details of their treachery and crimes. Neither is it necessary immediately to unmask the full complicity with these traitors, maintained by their affiliating supporters, the cognate copperheads, the gelatinous hypocrites and knaves of the North who have given aid and comfort to the enemies of God and their country. But "time proves all things," and just so unrelentingly will "the slow unmoving finger of scorn" be "pointed at" these men; just so surely will retribution finally overtake them, as that God and Justice are one! I am impelled to these utterances of seemingly harsh expletives—to utter adjectives unusual in polite literature, from the vivid sense and knowledge I possess, that these men have committed crimes so satanically wicked that no language, but that constructed to represent the sympathies of hell, can give tongue to the terrible reality!

I do not desire to elaborate this subject, and I can not explain systematically a tithe of what I know, affirming the correctness of your book, without dilating upon the question to the exclusion of more pressing business. One incident, however, I shall go so far as to describe, which may, perhaps, throw some light upon the machinations of one of the principal characters in this drama, and which has not hitherto been made public.

In the spring of 1848, I was in Washington on official business, having but recently returned from the Gulf of Mexico, where I had been attached to Commodore Perry's squadron, during the latter part of the Mexican war. While under Commodore Perry's command, I had, by his direction, made a series of scientific explorations, in various parts of the peninsula of Yucatan, and through the Usumacinti river, in Central America. The results of my labors were recorded in the form of a report, accompanied with illustrative maps, drawings, and various specimens, both animal and mineral, representing the productions of the country.

When I arrived in Washington, I was given to understand that this report had been ordered in accordance with the desire of Hon. John C. Calhoun, and I was directed to attend at his house with it in F Street. I paid my respects to Mr. Calhoun, and at his request deposited a copy of my report with Mr. Burt, Mr. Calhoun's son-in-law, for perusal. This incident occurred on or about the 15th of June 1848. In a few days after Hon. Mr. Burt called upon me and invited me

## PROF. ROBERT GRANT'S LETTER.

to take tea with Mr. Calhoun at his house. On my arrival I soon discovered that this social family "*tea*" was most emphatically a "*plant*," or in other words, through the magic influence of this aristocratic southern family *tea party* I was expected to be impressed with the propriety of altering my report, or of allowing Hon. John C. Calhoun to alter it so as to convert its purely scientific record into arguments advocating the introduction of slavery into the valley of the Usumacenti river and Central America.

I did not believe in slavery; I never could endorse it in any shape; and I frankly told Mr. Calhoun so; although I at the same time admitted that I believed, as I do now, most emphatically, that the negro race are not of the *genus homo* with the white man, and that, as a race, in a state of slavery, he is the worst enemy the white man has to encounter on earth, as he invariably barbarizes the white man when associated with him in this condition, by a process *indosmos* and *exosmos* of mentalities, and physically by the nursing of the white man's child by the negro "mama's" as practiced at the South—the negro nutrition controlling the natural idiocyneracies of the white child—the normal condition of the negro being barbaric and wild, to which condition he will immediately revert, when freed from the influence of the white man, and that every attempt to associate the dark races with the white races, since the earliest dawn of monumental history, has hitherto resulted and inevitably will result in the debasement of both races—and that no white race has fallen or gone down in the scale of civilization, except through the futile attempt to engraft some dark race upon its progressive life—and that the great error of the South was the attempt to inoculate its civilized progress with the negro element, as a permanent basis of enslaved labor—and that, if this course was continued, it would result in the ruin of the South, or the destruction of the negro. This idea I had also elaborated in my report, which had been previously examined by Mr. Calhoun.

All that I said on that occasion appeared to have no effect upon Mr. Calhoun; he listened for the moment and incidentally remarked that my antecedent record was a sufficient guarantee for my final action in this matter; and went on to propose that I should omit that portion of my report, showing the incompatibility of the negro with civilization, and that the whole should be made to show the vast advantage which would result from the immediate introduction of negro slavery into those fertile valleys which drain the eastern water-shed of the mountains in Central America. The result of our conversation was, that I gleaned from Mr. Calhoun the substance of his intentions, to finally press slavery into all the grain-growing States and Territories of the North, for the purpose of affording breeding grounds, or a kind of Africa, producing slaves for the more fertile cotton and sugar planting regions south, until the pressure, north and south, should have absorbed the entire continents of North and South America in an immense slaveholding nation.

Mr. Calhoun unreservedly presented this vision to me because I had, as he remarked, referring to my antecedents two years previously, with his knowledge and approbation, given a series of public lectures in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, showing the marked distinction between the dark and white races, and proving the incompatibility of the dark races of mankind with a high state of human progress, in common with the wild Fauna and Flora of the inferior types; and which lectures, the events of this war have crowned almost with the light of history. Mr. Calhoun doubtless was impressed with the belief, as I find most persons now are, on the first presentation of my theory, that the transition from this doctrine to a coincidence with slavery, was but a step. True, it is but a step—but that step is from the sublime to the ridiculous!! The simple fact is, that whatever the negro may be, God made him so, for his own good purpose, and no man has a *right* to make a slave of him! If he does so, the negro carries his own vengeance with him into that slavery, which, by association, eventually barbarizes the white man.

In view of such inducements, as the final carrying out of this great slave nationality might offer, Mr. Calhoun gave me to understand, as a present consideration, if I would lend my report to the interest of slavery, that the whole should be pub-



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PROF. ROBERT GRANT'S LETTER.

lished as a Congressional Document, that I should be paid the extraordinary expenses which I had been subjected to, in making explorations and collecting specimens, and in compiling my report. That I should be continued in my position in the navy, at an increased salary, that I should be detailed to make scientific explorations among the wild races of Africa, which I then anxiously desired to accomplish. At the same time, Mr. Calhoun gave me to understand, that if I did not so prostitute my report to the interest of slavery, that I should not be paid a cent for my trouble in getting it up. That I would lose my situation in the navy, with all the flattering inducements held out to me, and that I should be debarred hereafter from all Government countenance and support in my efforts to introduce the Calcium light for light-house purposes.

This was the substance of Mr. Calhoun's conference with me. It was not directly, or plainly stated by him in the aggregate, but he left me to draw inferences as to the result of my action, in reference to the report; still I could not mistake his meaning. He was very gentlemanly in his manner, and his conversational and persuasive powers were of the highest order; at the same time there was a lordly, dogmatic air, which he used, seeming to desire to compel me to accept the *fiat* of his will. With all this, my pride was finally roused. My Scotch nature would not submit to be made the tool of an imperious aristocrat. The insult, of being requested to sell my highest convictions, for a mess of pottage, was more than I had bargained for; and without deigning further explanation, I flatly refused his offer, and taking up my manuscript, remarked, that it "was already paid for; that it was worth to me all that it cost, and that I intended to keep it until such times, as with God's blessing mankind should come to their senses, which event, I hoped and believed, would occur in my day, if not in his." (Now, thank God! in my day mankind are coming to their senses.) I then retired from the presence of the great autocrat, and I have never seen him since; but I have *felt* him. Shortly after I was informed that my services were no longer required in the navy. I was refused all compensation for my report, and during Mr. Calhoun's life I could do nothing with my light-house improvements; and even after his death the shadow of that unrelenting old man stood in my path in a hundred different forms, until the breaking out of the rebellion. I have now, however, reason to believe that his ghost is laid, and forever, with his great prototype, the satanic spirit of slavery!

I am glad, my dear sir, that you have unmasked the fiendish origin, and monarchical tendencies of human bondage.

As the pioneer, in disclosing the deep hidden atrocities of ninety years of the slave-power, you deserve the heartfelt gratitude of every man and woman worthy to bear the American name.

Yours ever,

ROBERT GRANT.

JOHN SMITH DYE, Esq., author of *History of the Plots and Crimes of the Great Conspiracy to Overthrow Liberty in America*. No. 100 Broadway, (opposite Trinity Church), New York.



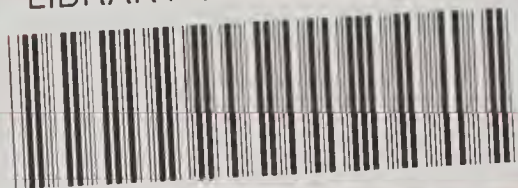








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